

Quantificational Pronouns in Uyghur

By

Jonathan Jasper Coffee

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Chairperson Harold Torrence

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Jason Kandybowicz

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Andrew McKenzie

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The Thesis Committee for Jonathan Jasper Coffee  
certifies that this is the approved version of the following thesis:

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Chairperson Harold Torrence

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## Abstract

This thesis examines the syntactic distribution and semantic function of four series of indefinite quantifier pronouns in Uyghur: i) the universal or *her*-series, ii) the negative indefinite or *héch*-series, iii) the indefinite *bir*-series, iv) the indefinite *birer*-series. Sections, 3, 4, and 5, provide brief background information on Uyghur including phonology, orthography, properties of noun phrases, general syntactic properties, and QUESTION formation. Sections 6 and 7 constitute the main focus of this thesis.

In section 7, the syntactic distributions of each of these four series are discussed at length. All four of the series of pronouns may occur in various argument positions and may scramble in the same manner of other DPs in the language. The stems of *her*-series, *héch*-series, and *bir*-series may be composed of either *wh*- items or generic ontological nouns. Even though they may be composed of *wh*- items, the pronouns do not carry interrogative interpretation. The stems of the *birer*-series may only be generic ontological nouns.

With respect to polarity, the universal *her*-series and the negative indefinite *héch*-series are polarity sensitive while the indefinite *bir* series and *birer*-series are not. The universal *her*-series may not occur in the same clause as negation, while the negative indefinite *héch*-series must obligatorily occur in the same clause as verbal negation. No such restriction exists for the indefinite *bir* series and *birer*-series.

Section 7 uses Haspelmath's (1997) approach to semantic properties of indefinite pronouns to explore the semantic differences between the four series of pronouns as they are used as

indefinite pronouns in Uyghur. Haspelmath proposes a set of nine semantic functions that indefinite pronouns serve cross-linguistically: SPECIFIC KNOWN, SPECIFIC UNKNOWN, IRREALIS, QUESTIONS, CONDITIONALS, INDIRECT NEGATION, DIRECT NEGATION, COMPARATIVES, and FREE CHOICE. In Uyghur, the universal *her*-series may function in COMPARATIVE and FREE CHOICE contexts. The negative indefinite *héch*-series may function in only the DIRECT NEGATION contexts. The *bir*-series indefinite pronouns may serve in SPECIFIC KNOWN, SPECIFIC UNKNOWN, IRREALIS, QUESTION, and CONDITIONAL contexts. Finally, the *birer*-series indefinite pronouns may serve in SPECIFIC UNKNOWN, IRREALIS, QUESTION, CONDITIONAL, and INDIRECT NEGATION contexts.

This thesis expands on previous descriptive accounts of Uyghur pronouns and incorporates new data. This thesis provides an in-depth analysis of the semantic meanings of these four series of pronouns in Uyghur using the semantic map theory outlined by Haspelmath (1997). Organizing the data in terms of its semantic meaning serves to further our understanding of Uyghur as a whole. By examining Uyghur indefinite pronouns in this manner, the goal of this thesis is to expand our understanding of Uyghur as a whole, improve our understanding of the semantic properties of indefinites cross-linguistically, and provide ground work for future research.

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# Quantificational Pronouns in Uyghur

by

Jonathan Coffee

## 2. Introduction

This thesis examines the syntactic distribution and semantic function of indefinite quantifier pronouns in Uyghur. Uyghur is an Eastern Turkic language spoken in the Xinjiang province of Western China. This thesis examines four series of quantificational pronouns like those seen in (1).

- (1) a. **her kim** u-ni kör-d-i<sup>1</sup>  
every who 3SG-ACC see-PAST-3SG  
'Everyone saw him/her.'
- b. [**héch-kim** nan-ni yé-me-d-i]  
no-who nan-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-3SG  
'No one ate the nan.'
- c. men **bir-kim**(-ni) isde-wat-i-men  
1SG one-who-ACC search-PROG-PRES-1SG  
'I am looking for someone.'
- d. u **birer nerse**(-ni) isde-wat-i-du  
3SG some thing-ACC search-PROG-PRES-3SG  
'He is looking for something.'

The four series of indefinite pronouns discussed in this thesis are as follows: i) the universal or *her* series (1)a, ii) the negative indefinite or *héch-* series (1)b, iii) the indefinite *bir-* series (1)c, iv) the indefinite *birer-* series (1)d. Previous work on these pronouns is scarce and provides a largely descriptive account of the data.

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<sup>1</sup> In this thesis, I use the following abbreviations: 1=first person, 2=second person, 3-third person, ABIL=abilitative aspect, ABL=ablative case, ACC=accusative case, AVZR=adverbializer marker, COP=copula, DAT=dative case, GEN=genitive case, INDEF.PAST=indefinite past tense, LOC=locative case, Ø=nominative case, NEG=negation, PAST=past tense, PL=plural, PRES=present tense, Q=question particle, SG=singular, NON.PAST=non-past tense.



Drawing on previous descriptive accounts (Hahn 2006; Tömür 2003) and incorporating new data, this thesis provides an in-depth analysis of the semantic meanings of these pronouns in Uyghur. This thesis uses the semantic map theory outlined by Haspelmath (1997). Organizing the data in terms of its semantic meaning serves to further our understanding of Uyghur as a whole. This thesis also seeks to lay the groundwork for more detailed typological and theoretical research in the future.

This thesis is organized into seven main sections. Section 3 provides brief background information on Uyghur and introduces the phonology and orthography. Section 4 introduces basic properties of noun phrases in Uyghur. Section 4 discusses general syntactic properties of Uyghur. Section 6 discusses QUESTION formation in Uyghur. Sections 6 and 7 constitute the main focus of this thesis. Section 7 introduces four series of quantificational pronouns in Uyghur: the universal *her* series, the negative indefinite *héch*-series, the indefinite *bir* series, and the indefinite *birer*-series. The syntactic distributions of each of these four series are discussed at length. Among other things, this section shows that the universal *her*-series may not occur in the same clause as negation, while the negative indefinite *héch*-series must obligatorily occur in the same clause as verbal negation. No such restriction exists for the indefinite *bir* series and *birer*-series.

Section 7 introduces Haspelmath's (1997) approach to semantic properties of indefinite pronouns. Specifically, Haspelmath proposes that there are nine functions of indefinite pronouns cross-linguistically. In Uyghur, the four series of pronouns discussed in his theory are used to

various extents in these contexts. This section explores the semantic differences between the four series of pronouns as they are used as indefinite pronouns in Uyghur.

Examining Uyghur Indefinite pronouns in this manner serves multiple purposes. The first is that an in-depth examination of this kind expands our understanding of Uyghur as a whole. The second is that it improves our understanding of the semantic properties of indefinites cross-linguistically. According to Haspelmath, the term ‘indefinite pronouns’ has been used as a kind of ‘waste-basket category in many traditional grammars’ (1997:11). An in-depth study of this type seeks to expand the understanding of this catch-all category by contributing data from Uyghur to Haspelmath’s work.

### **3. Background on Uyghur – Outline**

This thesis focuses on the language known as Uyghur.<sup>2</sup> Uyghur is a Southeastern Turkic Language spoken in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in western China. The Xinjiang province is shown below.<sup>3</sup>



Figure 1 - Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

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<sup>2</sup> Special thanks to Mahire Yakup and Abduwali Ayub who provided countless hours of their free-time for one-on-one elicitation sessions.

<sup>3</sup> Map Source: <http://www.worldtradeexpress.com/how-remote-is-xinjiang/>

Estimates on how many speakers there are world-wide vary between about 6 and 11 million speakers (Hahn 2006; Lindblad 1990; Vaux 2001). Linguistically, Uyghur is most closely related to Uzbek spoken in Uzbekistan (Bridges 2008).

Uyghur has a basic SOV word order as shown in (2) below:

- (2)    men            alma-ni      yé-y-men  
          1sg-nom   apple-acc   eat-pres-1sg  
          ‘I eat the apple.’

## 1.1 Phonemic Inventory and Orthography of Uyghur

Uyghur possess eight vowels and twenty-five consonants. This section outlines the vowel and consonant inventories of the language and presents the orthography of the language. Depending on the analysis, Uyghur has either eight or nine vowels as seen in the chart below<sup>4</sup>:

	[-back]		[+back]	
	[-round]	[+round]	[-round]	[+round]
[+high]	i	ü	( i )	u
[-high, -low]	é	ö		o
[+low]	e		a	

Table 1 – Uyghur Vowels

Analyses such as Hahn (2006) include the high back unrounded vowel [i] in the phonological inventory of Uyghur while others such as Vaux (2001) do not include this vowel. However, regardless of the phonological analysis of this vowel, the orthography of Uyghur only indicates eight vowels and does not include [i].

Uyghur makes use of 25 consonants. These consonants are presented below in a modified IPA chart in Table 2. Table 2 lists consonants using the Latin-based orthography of Uyghur. Where

<sup>4</sup> The symbols used in this chart are not IPA symbols. Instead, they are the symbols used by the Latin script of Uyghur. For more information about the orthography of Uyghur, see Table 3.

the orthography differs from the IPA symbol, the IPA symbol is included in parentheses next to the consonant. Where two consonants are listed side-by-side, the consonant on the left is voiceless while the consonant on the right is voiced.

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	p, b		t, d			k, g	q	ʔ
Nasals	m		n			ŋ (ŋ)		
Flaps			r					
Affricates				ch (tʃ), j(dʒ)				
Fricatives		f, -	s, z	sh(ʃ), zh(ʒ)		x, -	- , gh (ɣ)	h, -
Approximants	w				y (j)			
Lateral Approximants			l					

Table 2 – Uyghur Consonants

For many of the consonants in Uyghur, the Latin-based orthography matches that of English (Engesaeth, Yakup & Dwyer 2009). Uyghur has an official script which is a modified version of Arabic script. However, there is also a widely used Latin Script for the language. Table 3 below includes the Arabic and Latin script used to write in Uyghur. This chart is adapted from Engesaeth et al. (2009). For the purposes of this thesis, the Latin script presented below is used in the data examples.

IPA	Latin Script	Arabic Script	IPA	Latin Script	Arabic Script
a, ɑ	A, a	ا ائا ائا ائا	n	N, n	ن
b	B, b	ب	ŋ	--, ng**	اڭ
d	D, d	د	o	O, o	و
ɛ, æ	E, e	ئ	ø	Ö, ö	ؤ
e	É, é	ئ	p <sup>h</sup>	P, p	پ
f, ɸ	F, f	ف	r, ɾ	R, r	ر
g	G, g	گ	s	S, s	س
ɣ, ʏ	Gh, gh	غ	ʃ	Sh, sh	ش
h	H, h	ه هه ه	t <sup>h</sup>	T, t	ت
x, ɣ	X, x	خ	tʃ <sup>h</sup> , ʃ	Ch, ch	چ
i, i	I, i	ئ	u	U, u	ۇ
ɟ, ʒ	J, j	ج	y	Ü, ü	ۈ
k <sup>h</sup>	K, k	ك	w, v	W, w	ۋ
q <sup>h</sup>	Q, q	ق	j	Y, y	ي
l, ɭ	L, l	ل	z	Z, z	ز
m	M, m	م	ʒ	Zh, zh	ژ

Table 3 – Uyghur Orthography

## 1.2 Uyghur Phonology

Uyghur has a rich phonology that includes vowel harmony (backness and rounding), vowel raising, and consonant harmony (voicing). This section presents a brief inventory of the phonological processes of Uyghur.

### 1.2.1 Harmony

Uyghur has a rather extensive system of harmony both for consonants and vowels. In general, vowels within a single word agree in backness as shown by the data in Table 4 below<sup>5</sup>. The words on the left contain only front ([-back]) vowels while the words on the right contain only back ([+back]) vowels.

<sup>5</sup> Disharmonic words (those which contain both front and back vowels) in Uyghur are rare although they do occur. As Engesaeth and colleagues point out in their textbook, two general exceptions to word-internal harmony are compounds and loan words (2009:21). Some examples include: *aghine* “friend,” *adem* “man/person,” *ehwal* “situation,” *eswab* “tool.”

Front Vowels: [-back]		Back Vowels: [+back]	
üzüm	‘grapes’	bala	‘child’
mektep	‘school’	oghul	‘boy’
kéche	‘night’	rawap	‘musical instrument’
etigen	‘morning’	shaptul	‘peach’

Table 4 – Vowel Backness Harmony

The consonants *[k, g, q, and gh]* also seem to undergo harmony. Whenever these consonants appear in suffixes, the velar consonants *[k, g]* occur with front vowels, while the uvular consonants *[q, gh]* occur with back vowels. For example, in (3)a and (3)b below, the vowel in the stem *öy-* is a front vowel: [ö]. Therefore, the consonant in the suffix is the velar consonant *[g]*. In (3)c and (3)d, the nearest vowel in the stem *bazar-* is a back vowel: [a]. Therefore, the consonant in the suffix is the uvular consonant *[gh]*.

- (3) a. *öy*  
‘house’
- b. *öy-ge*  
house-DAT  
‘to the house’
- c. *bazar*  
‘market’
- d. *bazar-gha*  
market-DAT  
‘to the market’

In Uyghur, some consonants in suffixes also agree in voicing with the nearest segment in the stem. For instance, the locative suffix *-da/-ta* sometimes surfaces as the voiced allomorph *-da*: sometimes as the unvoiced allomorph *-ta*. As with backness harmony, the variation in the suffix depends on the segments found in the stem. Generally speaking, consonants in the suffix will take on the same voicing feature as the nearest segment in the stem. Some examples of consonant voicing harmony can be seen below.

- (4) a. mektep  
‘school’
- b. mekte**p**-te  
school-LOC  
‘at school’
- c. öy  
‘house’
- d. ö**y**-de  
house-LOC  
‘at the house’

For the locative suffix, the consonant in the initial position of the suffix takes on the voicing feature of the previous segment. For example, in (4)a and (4)b above, the last segment in the stem *mektep*- is a voiceless bilabial consonant: [p]. Therefore, the consonant in the suffix becomes the voiceless alveolar consonant [t]. In (4)c and (4)d, the last segment in the stem *öy*- is a voiced palatal glide: [y]. Therefore, the consonant in the suffix becomes the voiced alveolar consonant [d].

A well-known fact of Uyghur morphology is that it contains suffixes in which phonemes are often unspecified for certain phonological features such as backness and voicing (Bridges 2008; Engesaeth, Yakup & Dwyer 2009; Lindblad 1990; Vaux 2001). Generally speaking, underspecified vowels and consonants in suffixes agree in backness with the closest stem vowel. Additionally underspecified consonants also agree in voicing with the closest stem segment. A clear example of this is the locative suffix /-DA/ (where capital letters indicate an underspecified segment<sup>6</sup>) Some examples can be seen in Table 6 below:

---

<sup>6</sup> The /D/ in the suffix is underspecified for voicing. This consonant undergoes Consonant Voicing Harmony mentioned earlier in this paper. In Uyghur, underspecified consonants agree in voicing with the previous segment.

	Underlying Form	Surface Form
[-back]	/üzüm-DA/ 'at/on the grapes'	[üzümde]
	/mektep-DA/ 'at school'	[mektepe]
[+back]	/bala-DA / 'at the child'	[balida]
	/shaptul-DA / 'on the peach'	[shaptulda]

Table 6 – Vowel Backness and Consonant Voicing Harmony in Suffixes

In all of these examples, the underspecified vowel of the suffix gets its backness feature from the closest stem vowel. In the words *üzümde* 'at/on the grapes' and *mektepe* 'at school,' the vowels in the locative suffix –DA are underspecified for backness and receive their [-back] feature from the closest stem vowel. The suffix in *balida* 'at the child' and *shaptulda* 'on the peach' receive their [+back] feature from the closest stem vowel. The alveolar consonant in the suffix is unspecified for voicing, receiving its voicing feature from the last segment in the stem: [+voice] in the cases of *üzümde*, *balida*, and *shaptulda* [-voice] in the cases of *mektepe*.

### 1.2.2 Vowel Reduction and Stress Assignment in Uyghur

Certain vowels in Uyghur undergo raising in unstressed positions. In Table 5 above, the underlying form /bala-DA/ becomes *balida* where the final /a/ of the stem, /bala/, becomes /i/. To account for this, let us first consider stress in Uyghur.<sup>7</sup> Uyghur has word-final primary stress.

<sup>7</sup> This summary of the stress pattern in Uyghur is simplified for the purposes of this paper. For a more in-depth examination of Uyghur stress patterns consult Hahn (2006) and Engesæth et al. (2009).



Surface Form	Gloss
yol'	'road'
pul'	'money'
a.dem'	'man'
a.pet'	'disaster'
a.ghi.ne'	'friend'

Table 7 – Word-final Stress

When suffixes are added, primary stress is reassigned to the end of a word as seen in Table 8.

Surface Form	Gloss
yol.da'	'on the road'
pul.da'	'on the money'
a.dem.de'	'on the man'
a.pet.te'	'at the disaster'
a.ghi.ni.de'	'on the friend'

Table 8 – Stress Reassignment

Just like the word *balida* in Table 6 above, the underlying form /*aghine-DA*/ becomes *aghinide*.

In both of these examples, the vowels /a/ and /e/ are in open syllables. When primary stress is reassigned to the word-final position, these vowels, /a/ and /e/ are raised to /i/ and /i/ respectively.

Both of these vowels are represented by the same vowel *i* in Uyghur orthography.

Let us briefly turn our attention to suffixes that do not participate in backness harmony such as the suffix /-che/. Invariably, the vowel in this suffix surfaces as the front vowel [e]. It seems to be neutral with regard to Backness Harmony as in (5) below.

- (5) a. pul-che'  
           money-AVZR  
           'money-like'
- b. adem-che'  
           man-AVZR  
           'man-like'

Furthermore, this suffix does not appear to interfere with Backness Harmony as in (6) below.<sup>8</sup> In (6)a below, the vowel [a] in the suffix *-da* is [+back] and gets this feature from the [+back] vowel [u] in the stem *pul-*. In (6)b, the vowel [e] in the suffix *-de* is [-back] and gets this feature from the [-back] vowel [e] in the stem *adem-*.

- (6) a. *pul.chi.da*  
           money- AVZR-LOC  
           ‘in the manner of money’
- b. *a.dem.chi.de*  
           man- AVZR-LOC  
           ‘in the manner of a man’

Even though /-che/ is underlyingly specified for back, it appears to be transparent with regard to backness harmony.

#### 4. Uyghur Nouns

This section outlines the basic properties of DPs in Uyghur. It begins by discussing when definite and indefinite readings are possible. Then, I briefly discuss adjectival phrases and discuss the plural marker. Following that, I discuss the various kinds of determiners possible in Uyghur followed by a brief discussion of the genitive case.

##### 1.3 Noun template

This section will outline numerous elements that compose noun phrases in Uyghur. Generally speaking, noun phrases in Uyghur follow the following template.

DETERMINER-ADJECTIVE-NOUN-PLURAL-CASE

In Uyghur, bare nouns are possible in simple sentence constructions as seen in (7) below.

---

<sup>8</sup> Although the vowel [e] in /-che/ does not interfere with vowel harmony, it does undergo vowel raising as seen in (6). In Uyghur, the vowels [a] and [e] become raised in unstressed position. For a more in-depth analysis of this phenomenon see

- NONSPECIFIC  
SPECIFIC

(8) can be used only in situations in which there is a specific apple in mind.

- |             |
|-------------|
| NONSPECIFIC |
| SPECIFIC    |

Pronouns in Uyghur have six person and number distinctions: 1st, 2nd, and 3rd and each can be either singular or plural. The chart below shows the pronouns in Uyghur which indicate person and number.

Person/Number	Pronoun
1st singular	men
1st plural	biz
2nd singular (Formal)	siz
2nd singular (Informal)	sen
2nd plural	siler
3rd singular	u
3rd plural	ular

12

For regular nouns, singular nouns are unmarked while plurals are indicated by the addition of the suffix *-lar*. As seen below, the vowel in the suffix undergoes vowel backness harmony, as discussed in section 1.2.1<sup>9</sup>

- (9) a. adem  
man  
'man/person'
- b. adem-ler  
man-PL  
'men/people'
- c. alma  
apple  
'apple'
- d. almi-lar  
apple-PL  
'apples'

When plurals are used in a sentence, the accusative marking is obligatory as seen in (10).

- (10) men almi-lar-\*(ni) yé-d-im  
1sg-nom apple-pl-acc eat-past-1sg  
'I ate the apples.'  
'\*I ate apples.'<sup>10</sup>
- Definite  
Indefinite

---

<sup>9</sup> Whenever a noun occurs with a numeral, plural marking on the noun is not possible as seen below in (1) below.

- (1) a. men-Ø ikki alma-ni yé-y-men  
1SG-NOM two apple-ACC eat-NON.PST-1SG  
'I will eat two apples.'
- b. \*men-Ø **ikki** almi-lar-ni yé-y-men  
1SG-NOM **two** apple-PL-ACC eat-NON.PAST-1SG  
'I will eat two apples.'

<sup>10</sup> In order to say the equivalent of "I ate apples," in Uyghur, the singular form is used without accusative case marking, as in (1) below. However, this construction carries no inherent "plural" meaning.

- (2) men alma yé-d-im  
1sg apple eat-past-1sg

## 1.4 Case

Uyghur has a robust case marking system with six main cases. The case markers, all suffixal, are given in Table 10 below.

Nominative	-Ø
Accusative	-ni
Dative	-ge
Locative	-da
Ablative	-din
Genitive	-ning

Table 10 – Case Markers in Uyghur

This section briefly discusses a few case markings in Uyghur: nominative, accusative, dative, locative, ablative, and genitive. As seen in Table 10, nominative case is unmarked in Uyghur as seen by the absence of overt case marking on the subject *Torsun* in (11) below.

- (11) Torsun-Ø alma-ni yé-d-i.  
Torsun-NOM apple-ACC eat-PST-3SG  
'Torsun ate the apple.'

Accusative case is marked by the overt marker, *-ni* as seen by the presence of overt case marking on the object *alma-ni* in (12)a below. Typically, nominative and accusative cases in Uyghur are used to mark grammatical relations of subject and object respectively. In (12)b below, the nominative subject *Torsun* is unmarked and the accusative object *alma* is marked with the suffix *-ni*.

- (12) a. Torsun-Ø alma-ni yé-d-i.  
Torsun-NOM apple-ACC eat-PST-3SG  
'Torsun ate the apple.'
- b. Torsun-Ø alma-ni yé-d-i  
Torsun-NOM<sub>(Subject)</sub> apple-ACC<sub>(object)</sub> eat-PST-3SG  
'Torsun ate the apple.'

Furthermore, the presence or absence of accusative case marking in object position is tied to scrambling. In (13)a below, when the object *alma* 'apple' occurs in between the subject and

verb, accusative case marking is optional. The object may be scrambled before the subject, but only if accusative case marking is present as in (15)b.

- (13) a. men- $\emptyset$  alma(-ni) yé-d-im SOV  
 1SG-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-1SG  
 'I ate the apple.'
- b. alma\*(-ni) men- $\emptyset$  yé-d-im OSV  
 apple-ACC 1SG-NOM eat-PAST-1SG  
 'I ate the apple.'

Dative case is marked by *-GA*, as seen on the indirect object *mu'ellim* 'teacher' in (14) below.

- (14) men mu'ellim-**ge** kitab-ni korse-t-im  
 1SG-NOM teacher **DAT** book-ACC show-PAST-1SG  
 'I showed the teacher the book.'

Dative can be used to mark either grammatical relations (indirect objects) as in (15)a or to encode semantic meaning such as a goal or objective of an action as in (15)b.

- (15) a. men- $\emptyset$  torsun-**gha** alma-ni ber-d-im  
 1SG Torsun-**DAT** apple-ACC give-PAST-1SG  
 'I gave the apple to Torsun.'
- b. men- $\emptyset$  oqush-**qa** bar-d-im  
 1SG.NOM study-GER-**DAT** go-PAST-1SG  
 'I went to study.'

Locative case is marked by the suffix *-DA*. Locative case is typically used to encode semantic relationships such as location, as shown in (16).

- (16) a. hazir men- $\emptyset$  mektep-te.  
 now 1SG-NOM school-LOC  
 'I am at school right now.'

Ablative case is marked by the suffix, *-Din*. Ablative case is usually used to encode a source of an action as seen in (17).

- (17) Men öy-din ket-t-im  
 1sg house-abl leave-past-1sg  
 'I left from the house.'

In genitive constructions the possessor precedes the possessum. Nouns agree in person and number with the possessor as the examples below show.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-(I)m	-(I)miz
2nd	-(I)ngiz	-(I)nglar
3rd	-(s)i	-(s)i

Table 11 – Genitive Case Marking

(18)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>a. [men-ing] almi-m<br/>1st.sg-GEN apple-1st.sg.poss<br/>'my apple'</p> <p>c. [siz-ning] almi-ngiz<br/>2nd.sg-GEN apple-2nd.sg.poss<br/>'your apple'</p> <p>e. [u-ning] almi-si<br/>3rd.sg-GEN apple-3rd.sg.poss<br/>'his/her apple'</p> <p>g. [Torsun-ning] almi-si<br/>Torsun-GEN apple-3rd.sg.poss<br/>'Torsun's apple'<sup>11</sup></p> | <p>b. [biz-ning] almi-miz<br/>1st.pl-GEN apple-1st.pl.poss<br/>'our apple'</p> <p>d. [siler-ning] almi-nglar<br/>2nd.pl-GEN apple-2nd.pl.poss<br/>'y'all's apple'</p> <p>f. [ular-ning] almi-si<br/>3rd.pl-GEN apple-3rd.pl.poss<br/>'their apple'</p> |
|--|--|

## 1.5 Demonstratives

There are a number of demonstratives which occur in Uyghur. Like adjectives, demonstratives occur before nouns in simple constructions.

<sup>11</sup> Uyghur is similar to English in its ordering of nouns and adjectives. In simple sentences, adjectives precede the noun as seen in (1) below.

- |  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| <p>(1) a. men [qizil alma] ye-d-im.<br/>1SG-NOM [red apple] eat-PAST-1SG<br/>'I ate a red.'</p> <p>b. men [qizil alma]-ni ye-d-im<br/>1SG-NOM [red apple]-ACC eat-PAST-1SG<br/>'I ate the red apples.'</p> | <p>NON-SPECIFIC</p> <p>SPECIFIC</p> |
|--|-------------------------------------|

- (19) men bu alma\*(-ni) yé-men  
 1SG-NOM [this apple]-ACC eat-1SG  
 ‘I will eat this apple.’

(19) shows that accusative case is obligatory whenever determiners are present with nouns in even object position, accusative case is obligatory. The table below shows some of the most common demonstratives used in Uyghur.

bu	‘this’
u	‘that’
shu	‘that over there’

Table 12 – Three Common Demonstratives of Uyghur<sup>12</sup>

As seen in Table 12, demonstratives in Uyghur encode distance from the speaker.

- (20) a. men bu kitab-\*(ni) oqu-y-men.  
 1SG-NOM this book-ACC read-1SG  
 ‘I will read this book.’
- b. men u kitab-\*(ni) oqu-y-men.  
 1SG-NOM that book-ACC read-1SG  
 ‘I will read that book over there.’
- c. men shu alma-\*(ni) oqu-y-men.  
 1SG-NOM that apple-ACC eat-1SG  
 ‘I will eat that apple over there.’

Demonstratives may also be used by themselves as seen in (21).

- (21) a. men bu-\*(ni) oqu-y-men.  
 1SG-NOM this-ACC read-1SG  
 ‘I will read this one.’
- b. men u-\*(ni) oqu-men.  
 1SG-NOM that-ACC read-1SG  
 ‘I will read that one.’
- c. men shu-\*(ni) oqu-y-men.  
 1SG-NOM that.over.there-ACC eat-1SG  
 ‘I will eat that one over there.’

<sup>12</sup> There are other demonstratives in Uyghur such as *mawu* ‘this one,’ *awu* ‘tha one,’ and *mushu* ‘this,’ and *ashu* ‘that one (over there)’ among others which are not discussed here for brevity sake. For more information see chapter one of (Engesaeth, Yakup & Dwyer 2009).



As (20) and (21) indicate, accusative case is obligatory on noun phrases that contain a demonstrative.

## 5. Syntax of Uyghur

This section outlines the basic properties of syntax in Uyghur. It begins by discussing the basic word order involved in sentence formation. The next section discusses verbal negation followed by a section discussing scrambling.

### 1.6 Word Order in Uyghur

As previously discussed, Uyghur has a basic SOV word order as seen in (22) below.

- (22) a. Torsun u ayal-ni kör-d-i  
Torsun that girl-ACC see-PAST-3SG  
'Torsun saw that girl.'
- b. Torsun [siz u ayal-ni kör-d-ingiz] dep oyla-y-du  
Torsun 2SG that girl-ACC see-PAST-2SG C think-PRES-3SG  
'Torsun thinks that you saw the girl.'

In basic sentence constructions, when the object occurs in pre-verbal position the object may or may not carry accusative case, as previously illustrated.

### 1.7 Subject Agreement

In Uyghur, verbs agree in person and number with their subjects. Verbs only agree with subjects. Subjects are zero-marked for case and all other nominals are marked with case. As (23)d shows, verbs cannot agree with objects.

- (23) a. **men**-ø alma-ni yé-d-**im**  
1SG-NOM apple-acc eat-PAST-1SG  
'I ate the apple.'

- b. **siz-ø**        mektep-tin    bazar-gha    bar-d-**ingiz**  
 2SG-NOM    school-ABL    market-DAT    go-PAST-2SG  
 'You went to the store from school.'
- c. **u-ø**        sinip-ta        oqu-d-**i**  
 3SG-NOM    class-LOC    study-PAST-3SG  
 'He/She studied in the the classroom.'
- d. \***men-ø**    alma-ni        yé-d-**i**  
 1SG-NOM    apple-acc    eat-PAST-3SG  
 'I ate the apple.'

In (23)d, the verb is marked with the 3SG agreement suffix *-i* in an attempt to agree with the 3SG object *alma-ni* 'apple-ACC'. The result is ungrammatical.

Personal suffixes on the verb agree in person and number with the subject. Agreement suffixes on verbs vary depending on tense and several other factors. For simplicity sake, the agreement suffixes presented here are for NON-PAST tense. In the examples from this section and previous sections, we have already seen person agreement.

Person/Number	Pronoun	Verbal Suffix	Example
1st singular	men	-men	men yé-men 'I eat.'
1st plural	biz	-miz	biz yé-miz 'We eat.'
2nd singular (Formal)	siz	-siz	siz yé-siz 'You eat.'
2 <sup>nd</sup> singular (Informal)	sen	-sen	sen yé-sen 'You eat.'
2nd plural	siler	-siler	siler yé-siler 'You all eat.'
3rd singular	u	-du	u yé-du 'He/She eat.'
3rd plural	ular	-du	ular yé-du 'They eat.'

Table 13 - Person and Number Agreement

Both 1st and 2nd person can be distinguished for number and each has its own verbal suffix. However, the verbal suffix for 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural are homophonous.

## 1.8 Tense

Tense is marked by a suffix on the verb stem. This suffix occurs to the right of the stem and to the left of person agreement as seen in (24) below. The two most common tense markings in Uyghur are the PAST and NON-PAST tense.

- (24) a. (biz) bazar-gha bar-**i**-miz NON-PAST  
 (1pl) market-DAT go-NON.PAST-1PL  
 ‘We go to the market.’  
 ‘We will go to the market.’  
 b. (biz) bazar-gha bar-**di**-miz PAST  
 1PL market-DAT go-PAST-3PL  
 ‘We went to the market.’

As (24) indicates, the non-PAST tense marker can indicate either simple present tense or future meaning. For the purposes of this thesis, I sometimes give only one translation. However, both readings are usually possible.

## 1.9 Negation

Sentential negation is indicated by the suffix, /-mA-/.<sup>13</sup> The negative suffix occurs after the verb stem and before the tense suffix.

- (25) a. men            kitab-ni        oqu-y-men  
         1sg-nom    book-acc    read-pres-1sg  
         ‘I read the book.’  
  
      b. men            kitab-ni        oqu-**ma**-y-men  
         1sg-nom    book-acc    read-neg-pres-1sg  
         ‘I do not read the book.’

As seen in (25)b, the suffix *-ma-* occurs between the verb stem *oqu-* and the present tense suffix *-y-*. Using examples like (25) above, we can derive the following verbal template for Uyghur.

<sup>13</sup> The vowel in the negative suffix is underspecified for backness and undergoes vowel backness harmony discussed in section 1.2.2.

## Uyghur Verbal Template

### 1.10 Scrambling

Although Uyghur has basic SOV word order, other word orders are possible as Uyghur allows for extensive scrambling. For examples as (26) below shows, the object may be moved to the left edge of the sentence. As noted, in these situations, the object must have obligatory Accusative case.

- (26) a. **alma**-ni men yé-d-im. Scrambling with Accusative Case  
 apple-acc 1sg eat-past-1sg  
 ‘I ate the apple.’
- b. \***alma** men yé-d-im Scrambling without Accusative Case  
 apple 1SG eat-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I ate the apple.’  
 ‘I ate apples.’

However, as (27) below indicates, post-verbal scrambling is not allowed even when overt Accusative case marking is present.

- (27) \*men yé-d-im **alma**-(ni)  
 1SG eat-PAST-1ST **apple**-(ACC)  
 ‘I ate the apple/apples.’

Unlike scrambling in matrix clauses, scrambling out of an embedded clause is not possible, as (28) indicates.

- (28) \***alma**-(ni) men-ø [Torsun-ø yé-GEN] bil-i-men  
 apple-(ACC) 1sg-nom [Torsun-nom eat-indef.past] know-non.past-1sg  
 \*‘I know that Torsun ate the apple.’

However, scrambling within an embedded clause is possible as (29) indicates. In this case, accusative case-marking on the object is obligatory.

- (29) men-ø      [alma\*(-ni)      Torsun-ø      yé-gen]      bil-i-men  
 1sg-nom    [apple\*(-acc) Torsun-nom    eat-indef.past]    know-non.past-1sg  
 ‘I know that Torsun ate the apple.’

## 6. Q-Formation in Uyghur

This section discusses the formation of questions. Uyghur has two basic types of question formation: yes/no questions and wh- questions. Section 1.11 will discuss yes/no question formation while section 1.12 will discuss wh- questions.

### 1.11 Yes/No Questions

There are two ways to ask a yes/no question in Uyghur. The first is by attaching the particle *–mu* to the right edge of copula clauses as seen in (30). (30)a-b show question formation from a noun copula clause. (30)c-d show question formation from an adjectival clause. (30)e-f show question formation from a negative copula clause.

- (30) a. Bu            depter      qizil.  
          this-NOM   notebook   red  
          ‘This notebook is red.’
- b. Bu            depter      qizil-**mu**.  
          this-NOM   notebook   red-Q  
          ‘Is this notebook red?’
- c. Bu            kitab    emes  
          this-NOM   book   NEG  
          this is not a book

- d. Bu kitab emes-**mu**  
 this-NOM book NEG-Q  
 ‘Isn’t this a book?’<sup>14</sup>

In verbal clauses, yes/no questions are formed by the addition of the suffix *–Am-* to the verb.

This suffix occurs to the right of negation and to the left of person agreement as seen in (31)

below.

- (31) a. Siz alma yé-y-siz  
 2sg-nom apple eat-non.past-2sg  
 ‘You eat apples.’
- b. Siz bazar-gha bar-**am**-siz?  
 2SG-NOM market-ACC eat-Q-2SG  
 ‘Do you go to the store?’
- c. Siz bazar-gha bar-m-**am**-siz?  
 2SG-NOM market-DAT eat-NEG-Q-2SG  
 ‘Don’t you go to the market?’

The vowel in this suffix undergoes backness harmony to agree with the vowels of the stem, as seen in (32).

- (32) a. siz bazar-gha bar-**am**-siz? Front Vowel Harmony  
 2SG-NOM market-DAT go-Q-2SG  
 ‘Do you go to the market?’
- b. siz téléwizor-ni kör-**em**-siz? Back Vowel Harmony  
 2SG-NOM television-ACC watch-Q-2SG  
 ‘Do you watch television?’<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> It is worth noting that the question marker *–mu* is homophonous with the suffix *–mu* used to indicate the notions of “also” or “too.” However, this suffix usually occurs after nouns in the middle of sentences, whereas the question particle *–mu* only occurs at the end of sentences as seen in (1) below.

- (1) a. Bu depter-**mu** qizil  
 this-NOM notebook-also red  
 ‘This notebook is red.’
- c. Bu depter qizil-**mu**  
 this-nom notebook red-Q  
 ‘Is this notebook red?’

In (31) and (32) the suffix *-Am* is used in present tense clauses (i.e. zero tense marking). To form yes/no questions in the past-tense, the particle *-mu* is used, as seen in (33) below.

- (33) a. siz bazar-gha bar-d-ingiz-**mu**?  
 2SG market-DAT go-PAST-2SG-**q**  
 ‘Did you go to the market?’
- b. siz téléwizor-ni kör-d-ingiz-**mu**?  
 2SG television-ACC watch-PAST-2SG-**q**  
 ‘Did you watch television?’
- c. siz kitab oqu-d-ingiz-**mu**?  
 2SG book read-PAST-2SG-**q**  
 ‘Did you read books?’

Comparing the *-Am* suffix with the *-mu* suffix as in (34)a-b below, it appears that the two suffixes occur in different positions. In (34)a, the *-Am* suffix occurs to the left of person agreement. While in (34)b, the *-mu* suffix occurs to the right of person agreement.

- (34) a. siz bazar-gha bar-**em**-siz  
 2SG market-DAT go-**q**-2SG  
 ‘Do you go to the market?’
- b. siz bazar-gha bar-d-ingiz-**mu**?  
 2SG market-DAT go-PAST-2SG-**q**  
 ‘Did you go to the market?’

The *-am-* question affix appears to inside the verb construction, while the *-mu* question affix appears at the right edge of the sentence/verb.

---

<sup>15</sup> For stems that end in a vowel, the *A* is dropped from the suffix to resolve vowel hiatus as seen in (1) below.

- (1) siz kitab oqu-**m**-siz? Vowel Hiatus Resolution  
 2sg book read-q-2sg  
 ‘Do you read books?’

In this example, the suffix *-Am-* is added to the stem *oqu-*. *oqu-* ends in the front vowel *u* therefore the *A* is dropped to prevent the incorrect form *oquamsiz*.

### 1.12 WH- Questions

Uyghur is a *wh*- in situ language. That is, *wh*- items occur in their base position and take matrix scope. (35)a-c show a simple verbal clause. In (35)b, the name *enwer* is replaced with the *wh*- item *kim* ‘who,’ creating a *wh*-question. In (35)c, the subject *siz* is replaced with the *wh*- item *kim* ‘who.’ The data in (b) and (c) shows that there are not case/argument specific forms of *wh*- items.

- (35) a. *siz*- $\emptyset$       *enwer*-ni      *kor*-d-ingiz.  
2sg-nom    Enwer-acc    see-past-2sg  
‘You saw Enwer.’
- b. *siz*- $\emptyset$       **kim**-ni      *kor*-d-ingiz?  
2sg-nom    **who**-acc    see-past-2sg  
‘Who did you see?’
- c. **kim**- $\emptyset$       *enwer*-ni      *kor*-d-i?  
**who**-nom    Enwer-acc    see-past-3rd  
‘Who saw Enwer?’
- d. *siz*- $\emptyset$       **néme**-ni      *kor*-d-ingiz?  
2sg-nom    **what**-acc    see-past-2sg  
‘What did you see?’
- e. **néme**- $\emptyset$       *bol*-d-i  
**what**-nom    became-past-3sg  
‘What happened?’
- f. *siz*- $\emptyset$       **qaysi**    *kino*-ni      *kor*-d-ingiz?  
2sg-nom    **which**    movie-acc    see-past-2sg  
‘Which movie did you see?’
- g. *siz*- $\emptyset$       *enwer*-ni      **qeyer**-de    *kor*-d-ingiz.  
2sg-nom    Enwer-acc    where-loc    see-past-2sg  
‘Where did you see Enwer (at)?’
- h. *siz*- $\emptyset$       *enwer*-ni      **qandaq**    *kor*-d-ingiz.  
2sg-nom    Enwer-acc    how          see-past-2sg  
‘How did you see Enwer?’
- i. *siz*- $\emptyset$       *enwer*-ni      **qachan**    *kor*-d-ingiz.  
2sg-nom    Enwer-acc    when        see-past-2sg  
‘When did you see Enwer?’



- j. **némishqa** siz-ø kino-ni kor-d-ingiz.  
**why** 2sg-nom movie-acc see-past-2sg  
 ‘Why did you watch the movie?’

The table below lists the *wh*- items in Uyghur.

who	kim
what	néme
when	qachan
where (to)	ne-ge where-DAT
where (at)	ne-de where-LOC
why	némishqa
how	qandaq
which	qaysi

Table 14 – *wh*- items in Uyghur

*Wh*-movement is optionally possible in Uyghur, as seen in (36) below.

- (36) a. **kim**\*(-ni) siz-ø kor-d-ingiz?  
**who**-acc 2sg-nom see-past-2sg  
 ‘Who did you see?’
- b. qeyer-de siz-ø enwer-ni kor-d-ingiz.  
 where-loc 2sg-nom Enwer-acc see-past-2sg  
 ‘Where did you see Enwer (at).’
- c. qandaq siz-ø enwer-ni kor-d-ingiz.  
 how 2sg-nom Enwer-acc see-past-2sg  
 ‘How did you see Enwer.’

As can be seen in the data above, *wh*-questions in Uyghur do not involve a question particle.

Like scrambling out of an embedded clause, *wh*-movement out of an embedded clause is not possible, as (37) indicates. The direct object, *néme* ‘*what*’, of the embedded verb, *yé*- ‘*eat*’, has been moved to the left periphery of the matrix clause. However, this construction is ungrammatical.

- (37) \***néme**(-ni) men-ø [Torsun-ø yé-gen] bil-i-men  
 what-ACC 1SG-NOM [Torsun-NOM eat-INDEF.PAST] know-NON.PAST-1SG  
 ‘\*I know what Torsun ate.’

To get matrix scope of an embedded *wh*- item, an ECM-like construction is used: the embedded *wh*- item carries accusative case presumably assigned by the matrix verb.

- (38) a. Torsun **néme**-ni [siz-ni oqu-d-ingiz dep] oyli-d-i?  
 Torsun what-ACC [2SG-ACC read-PAST-2SG C] think-PAST-3SG  
 ‘What did Torsun think that you read?’
- b. Torsun **kim**-ni [kitab-ni oqu-d-i dep] oyli-d-i?  
 Torsun who-ACC [book-ACC read-PAST-3SG C] think-PAST-3SG  
 ‘Who did Torsun think read the book?’

This appears to be some sort of partial-*wh*-movement in the sense that the *wh*- item seems to be raised out of the embedded clause. Furthermore, it appears as though the embedded *wh*- items are raised into an intermediate position instead of being fully raised into Spec,CP. However, this movement does not use a *wh*-copy or a *wh*-expletive. Embedded questions are similar to matrix questions in that *wh*- items occur in-situ as seen in (39).

- (39) a. men-ø [**kim**-ø alma(-ni) yé-GEN] bil-i-men  
 1sg-nom [**who**-nom apple(-acc) eat-indef.past] know-non.past-1sg  
 ‘I know who ate the apple’
- b. men-ø [Torsun **néme**(-ni) yé-GEN] bil-i-men  
 1SG-NOM [Torsun-NOM **what**(-ACC) ate-INDEF.PAST] know-non-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I know what Torsun ate.’

Scrambling is possible in embedded questions but only to the edge of the embedded clause. As seen in (40) below.

- (40) men-ø [**néme**\*(-ni) Torsun-ø yé-GEN] bil-i-men  
 1sg-nom [**what**\*(-acc) Torsun-nom ate-indef.past] know-non-past-1sg  
 ‘I know what Torsun ate.’

### 1.13 Multiple *wh*-questions

Uyghur allows multiple *wh*- questions as seen in (41) below. As seen in the comparison between (41)a and (41)b, the order of the *wh*- items is reversible.

- (41) a. siz- $\emptyset$      **kim-ni**     **qeyer-de**     kor-d-ingiz?  
                  2SG-NOM   who-ACC   where-LOC   see-PAST-2SG  
                  ‘Who did you see where?’
- b. siz- $\emptyset$      **qeyer-de**     **kim-ni**     kor-d-ingiz?  
                  2SG-NOM   where-loc   who-ACC   see-PAST-2SG  
                  ‘Who did you see where?’

Furthermore, Uyghur allows multiple *wh*-expressions to scramble, as shown in (42). The ordering between these items is reversible as seen in the comparison between (42)a and (42)b. These items may be interrupted as shown in (42)c.

- (42) a. **kim-ni**     **qeyer-de**     siz- $\emptyset$      kor-d-ingiz?  
                  **who-ACC** **where-LOC**   2SG-NOM   see-PAST-2SG  
                  ‘Who did you see where?’
- b. **qeyer-de**     **kim-ni**     siz- $\emptyset$      kor-d-ingiz?  
                  **where-LOC**   **who-ACC**   2SG-NOM   see-PAST-2SG  
                  ‘Who did you see where?’
- c. **qeyer-de**     charshenbe-da     **kim-ni**     siz- $\emptyset$      kor-d-ingiz?  
                  **where-LOC**   Wednesday-LOC   **who-ACC**   2SG-NOM   see-PAST-2SG  
                  ‘Who did you see where on Wednesday?’
- d. **kim-ni**     **qeyer-de**     charshenbe-da     siz- $\emptyset$      kor-d-ingiz?  
                  **who-ACC** **where-LOC**   Wednesday-LOC   2SG-NOM   see-PAST-2SG  
                  ‘Who did you see where on Wednesday?’

In Uyghur, however, multiple *wh*- fronting is not obligatory and these elements may occur in situ.

## 7. Uyghur Quantifiers: Syntactic Distribution

The current work examines quantificational pronouns in Uyghur. I look at three main groups of pronouns: universal pronouns, negative indefinite pronouns and three series of indefinite pronouns. The third category contains three different series.<sup>16</sup> Examples of these quantifier pronouns are given in (43) below.

- (43) a. **her kim** u-ni kör-d-i Universal  
every who 3SG-ACC see-PAST-3SG  
'Everyone saw him/her.'
- b. [**héch-kim** nan-ni yé-me-d-i] Negative Indefinite  
no-who nan-acc eat-neg-past-3sg  
'No one ate the nan.'
- c. men **bir-kim**-ni isde-wat-i-men *Bir-series* Existential  
1sg some-kim-acc search-prog-pres-1sg  
'I am looking for someone.'
- d. men **birer adem**-ni isde-wat-i-men *Birer-series* Existential  
1sg some man-acc search-prog-pres-1sg  
'I am looking for someone.'

In this section of the thesis, I begin by discussing the morphological composition of the quantificational pronouns in Uyghur (section 1.14). In the following sections, I examine the syntactic distribution of each of the pronoun series: Section 1.15 discusses the universal pronouns, section 1.16 discusses the Negative indefinite pronouns, section 1.17 discusses the *bir*-series existential pronouns, and section 1.18 discusses the *birer*-series existential pronouns.

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<sup>16</sup> The four series discussed in this thesis are by no means exhaustive of the quantificational pronouns in Uyghur. Uyghur contains many more series of quantificational pronouns not specifically discussed in this thesis: the *dur*-series, the *alli*-series, the *bezi*-series, among others. See the appendix for a brief discussion of the existential –dur series. For examples of the various other quantificational pronouns available in Uyghur see Chapter 8 of Tömür (2003).

### 1.14 Quantifier Pronoun Morphology

As will be discussed in Section 8, the four series of quantificational pronouns discussed in this thesis may function as indefinite pronouns. For this reason, I will draw on Haspelmath's (1997) discussion of indefinite pronouns morphology to help understand the morphology of these quantifier series in Uyghur. Haspelmath points out that cross-linguistically, indefinite pronouns tend to consist of two parts, a *STEM* corresponding to ontological category, and an *INDEFINITENESS MARKER*. The indefiniteness marker is 'a formal element shared by all members of an indefinite pronoun series, such as *some-* and *any-* in English . . .' (1997:26). I have summarized Haspelmath's compositional breakdown of indefinite pronouns into the following indefinite pronoun template.

(44) Indefinite pronoun template:

Indefiniteness Marker + Stem (Ontological categories)

According to Haspelmath, the stems with which the indefiniteness markers co-occur are derived from two main categories: interrogative pronouns (such as 'who,' 'what,' 'where,' 'when,' 'how,' etc.) and generic ontological-category nouns (such as 'person', 'thing', 'place', 'time', 'manner', etc.) (Haspelmath 1997:29). In Uyghur, stems of pronouns may be composed of both *wh-* items and generic nouns. Some examples are given in Table 15 below.

Interrogative	Generic Nouns
héch-kim no what 'nothing'	héch-nerse no thing 'nothing'
bir-kim some-what 'something'	bir-nerse some-thing 'something'

Table 15 – Examples of Indefinite Pronouns

The morphological forms of the quantifier markers of these four series appear to follow two patterns.<sup>17</sup> Quantifier pronoun markers may occur as separate words which combine with *wh*- items and generic nouns. This is the pattern that the universal *her* series and the existential *birer*-series appear to follow. Quantifier markers may also be prefixes which attach to *wh*- items and generic nouns. This pattern is observed with the negative indefinite *héch*- series and the existential *bir*- series. These patterns are exemplified in Table 19 below.

	Pattern	<i>wh</i> - items	Generic Nouns
Universal <i>her</i> series	Separate Word	her néme every what 'everything'	her nerse every thing 'everything'
Negative Indefinite <i>héch</i> -series	Prefix	héch-néme no-what 'nothing'	héch-nerse no-thing 'nothing'
Existential <i>bir</i> -series	Prefix	bir-néme one-what 'something'	bir-nerse one-thing 'something'
Existential <i>birer</i> -series	Separate Word	*birer néme one what 'something'	birer nerse <sup>18</sup> one thing 'something'

Table 19 Morphological forms of Quantificational Pronouns in Uyghur

The universal, negative indefinite, and *bir*-series indefinite pronouns may occur with both *wh*- items and generic nouns. However, the *birer*-series may only occur with generic nouns. There appears to be no significant difference in semantic meaning between the forms with *wh*- items and the forms with generic nouns.

<sup>17</sup> The claims made about the morphological forms of these pronouns are derived from orthographic representations in texts and speaker intuitions. There is a great deal of variation in the orthography as to whether the pronoun markers and their stems are represented as separate words or as a single element. Whether or not these forms are prefixes or standalone words remains an open question for further investigation.

<sup>18</sup> The *birer*-series may only occur with generic nouns. This is discussed in further detail in sections 1.18 below.

This section has outlined the general morphological properties of four quantificational pronoun series in Uyghur. The sections that follow will examine each of these pronoun series and outline their syntactic distribution.

### 1.15 Universal Quantifiers

Universal quantifiers are formed when the word *her* ‘every’ co-occurs with *wh*- items and generic nouns. In (45) below, examples (a) and (b) show *her* occurring with the *wh*- items, *néme* and *kim* respectively. In (c), *her* occurs with the generic noun *nerse* ‘thing’.

- (45) a. men **her** **néme**-ni yé-d-im  
 1SG every what-ACC eat-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I ate everything.’
- b. siz **her** **kim**-ni chiqir-d-ingiz  
 2SG every who-ACC call-PAST-2SG  
 ‘You called everyone.’
- c. Bu **her** **nerse**-ni kör-d-i  
 3SG every thing-ACC see-PAST-3SG  
 ‘He/She saw everything.’

However, there is a restriction on what nouns *her* can occur with. In (46) below for example, *her* cannot occur with a content noun like *alma* ‘apple’.

- (46) \*men **her** **alma**-ni yé-d-im  
 1SG every apple-ACC eat-PAST-1SG  
 Intended: ‘I ate every apple.’

To say the equivalent, of ‘I ate every apple’ the word *hemme* ‘all’ is used, as in (47)a below.

Note that unlike *her* ‘every,’ *hemme* ‘all’ cannot be used with *wh*- items such as *néme* ‘what’ as in (47)b below.

- (47) a. men **hemme** **alma**-ni yé-d-im  
 1SG **all** **apple**-ACC eat-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I ate every apple./ I ate all the apples.’

- b. \*men **hemme néme**-ni yé-d-im  
 1SG **all what**-ACC eat-PAST-1SG  
 Intended: “I ate everything.”

Table 17, below, lists the universal quantifiers in Uyghur. With the exception of *nemishqa*<sup>19</sup>

‘why,’ every wh- item in Uyghur can combine with the prefix *her*. The wh- items *qeyer* ‘where’ and *né* ‘where’ can occur with the prefix as well. However, this combination requires the presence of case marking as seen (b)-(e) and (m)-(p) below.

a)	her kim	every who	‘everyone’
b)	*her né	every where	Intended: ‘everywhere’
c)	her né-ge	every where-DAT	‘to everywhere’
d)	her né-de	every where-LOC	‘at everywhere’
e)	her né-din	every where-ABL	‘from everywhere’
f)	her néme	every what	‘everything’
g)	*her némishqa	every why	Intended: ‘for every reason’
h)	her nerse	every thing	‘everything’
i)	her qachan	every when	‘every time’
j)	her qanche	every how much?	‘every amount’
k)	her qandaq	every how	‘every way/manner’
l)	her qaysi	every which	‘each’
m)	*her qeyer	every where	Intended: ‘everywhere’
n)	her qeyer-ge	every where-DAT	‘to everywhere’
o)	her qeyer-de	every where-LOC	‘at everywhere’
p)	her qeyer-din	every where-ABL	‘from everywhere’

Table 17 Universal Quantifiers in Uyghur

The universal quantifiers with wh- items as their stem do not carry matrix question scope (interrogative interpretation) even though they contain a wh-expression. (48)a shows a basic wh-question using *néme* ‘what.’ (48)b shows the universal quantifier *her néme* ‘everyone’ in the same position. However, it does not carry interrogative interpretation.

- (48) a. u **néme**(-ni) yé-d-i  
 3SG what(-ACC) eat-PAST-3SG  
 ‘What did he/she eat?’

<sup>19</sup> The pronoun *her némishqa* ‘every why/reason’ does not exist in Uyghur.



- b. u     **her néme(-ni)**     yé-d-i  
       3SG   every what(-ACC)   eat-PAST-3SG  
       ‘He/she ate everything.’  
       Not: ‘What (all) did he/she eat?’

Furthermore, universal quantifiers can be used with the question particle *-mu* while *wh-* items cannot.

- (49) a. \*u     **néme(-ni)**     yé-d-i-**mu**?  
       3SG   what(-ACC)   eat-PAST-3SG-Q  
       Intended: ‘What did he/she eat?’  
       b. u     **her néme(-ni)**     yé-d-i-**mu**?  
       3SG   every what(-ACC)   eat-PAST-3SG-Q  
       ‘Did he/she eat everything.’

Universal quantifiers can be scrambled. Object-universal quantifiers can occur before the subject but accusative case marking is obligatory. Scrambling of object-universal quantifiers to the right of the verb-phrase is not possible. In (50)a below, *her kim* has been scrambled to the left of the subject *u* (the accusative case marker *-ni* is obligatory in this example). In (50)b, *her kim* has been scrambled to the right of the verb phrase. (50)b is ungrammatical even with the overt accusative case marker, *-ni*.

- (50) a. **her kim\*(-ni)**     u     kör-d-i  
       every who(-ACC)     3SG   see-PAST-3SG  
       ‘He/She saw everyone.’  
       b. \*u     kör-d-i     **her kim(-ni)**  
       3SG   see-PAST-3SG   every who(-ACC)  
       Intended: ‘He/She saw everyone.’

Universal quantifiers may occur in either subject or object position. In (51)a *her kim* ‘everyone’ occurs in object position; in (b), *her kim* is in subject position.

- (51) a. u     **her kim(-ni)**     kör-d-i  
       3SG   every who(-ACC)   see-PAST-3SG  
       ‘He/she saw everyone.’

- b. **her kim** u-ni kör-d-i  
 every who 3SG-ACC see-PAST-3SG  
 ‘Everyone saw him/her.’

When *her* universal quantifiers occur in a verbal construction, they cannot occur with verbal negation. In (52)a below, the pronoun *her néme* ‘everything’ is in object position and occurs in the same clause as negation on the verb *yé-* ‘eat’. The construction is ungrammatical. Example (52)b shows that when negation is not present on the verb, the sentence containing the pronoun is grammatical.

- (52) a. \*men **her** neme(-ni) yé-**me**-d-im  
 1SG every what(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-1SG  
 Intended: ‘I didn’t eat everything.’  
 b. men **her** neme(-ni) yé-d-im  
 1SG every what(-ACC) eat-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I ate everything.’

Unlike the universal quantifiers, the word *hemme* ‘all’ can be used with negation as seen in (53).

- (53) men **hemme** alma-ni yé-**me**-d-im.  
 1SG all apple-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I did not eat all the apples.’  
 ‘It is not the case that I ate all the apples.’

We observe the same pattern with universal quantifiers in subject position. In (54)a below, the pronoun *her kim* ‘everyone’ is in subject position and occurs in the same clause as negation on the verb *yé-* ‘eat.’ The construction is ungrammatical. Example (54)b shows that when negation is not present on the verb, the sentence containing the pronoun is grammatical.

- (54) a.) \*her kim nan-ni yé-**mi**-di  
 every who nan-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-3SG  
 Intended: ‘Everyone didn’t eat nan.’  
 b.) her kim nan-ni yé-di  
 every who nan-ACC eat-PAST-3SG  
 ‘Everyone ate nan.’

In embedded clauses, we would expect the same pattern to emerge: universal quantifiers cannot occur in the same clause as verbal negation. This pattern is observed with embedded objects, as seen in (55) below. In (55)a, the universal quantifier occurs in the same clause as verbal negation and the sentence is ungrammatical. In (55)b, the universal quantifier does not occur in the same clause as verbal negation and the sentence is grammatical (even though the matrix verb carries negation).

- (55) a. \*men [Enwer **her néme**-ni yé-**me**-d-i] dep oyla-y-men  
 1SG [**every one** every what(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PAST-1SG  
 ‘I think Enwer ate everything.’
- b. men [Enwer(-ni) **her néme**-ni yé-d-i] dep oyli-**ma**-y-men  
 1SG [Enwer every what(-ACC) eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
 ‘I don’t think Enwer ate everything.’  
 It is not the case that I think Enwer ate everything.

With universal quantifiers in embedded subject position, we see the same pattern. In (56)a, the embedded subject, universal quantifier *herkim* ‘everyone,’ occurs with verbal negation on the embedded verb and the sentence is ungrammatical. In (56)b, the same embedded subject occurs in the embedded clause with verbal negation on the matrix verb and the result is judged grammatical.

- (56) a. \*men [**her kim** nan-ni yé-**me**-d-i] dep oyla-y-men  
 1SG [every who nan-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PAST-1SG  
 Intended: ‘I think everyone did not eat the nan.’
- b. men [**her kim** nan-ni yé-d-i] dep oyli-**ma**-y-men  
 1SG [every who nan-ACC eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
 ‘I don’t think everyone ate the nan.’

There is a third type of embedded construction in which the embedded subject is marked with accusative case marking. Before discussing quantifiers in these types of constructions, I will first look at this construction with basic nouns in these embedded clauses.

We have previously seen the simple embedded construction as in (57) in which the embedded subject has nominal (or is zero marked for) case.

- (57) mu'ellim [oqughuchi tapshuruq qil-d-i dep ] oyla-y-du  
 teacher [student homework do-PAST-3SG C ] think-PRES-3SG  
 'The teacher thinks the student did the homework.'

However, in embedded constructions like (57), the embedded subject may take optional accusative case marking resulting in an ECM-like construction like that in (58).

- (58) mu'ellim oqughuchi-**ni** [tapshuruq qil-d-i dep ] oyla-y-men  
 teacher student-ACC [homework do-PAST-3SG C ] think-PRES-1SG  
 'The teacher thinks that the student did the homework.'  
 Or 'The teacher thinks the student to have done his homework.'

In these accusative constructions, it is interesting to point out that unlike canonical ECM constructions the embedded clause is finite. According to some analyses of ECM constructions the presence of accusative case marking on an embedded subject indicates that the embedded subject has been raised out of the embedded clause into the matrix clause (Davies & Dubinsky 2008).

Adopting this assumption, we claim that when a pronoun in embedded subject position has accusative case, that it has raised into the matrix clause. We have previously seen that universal quantifiers cannot occur in the same clause as negation. In the ECM-like constructions, the embedded subject has raised out of the embedded clause into the matrix clause. We would, therefore, expect sentences with verbal negation in embedded clauses to be compatible with raised universal quantifier pronouns because the universal quantifier is no longer in the same clause as negation. Conversely, we would expect sentences with verbal negation on the matrix verb to be incompatible with raised universal pronouns because the universal quantifier is now in the matrix clause with matrix verbal negation.

However, the predicted pattern is not observed. In (59)a, below, the universally quantified subject is marked with accusative case. We would expect this to be grammatical because the universal quantifier is no longer in the same clause as negation. However, the construction is ungrammatical. This suggests that the universal quantifier is interpreted as if it is in the embedded clause: i.e. obligatory reconstruction. In (59)b, the universal quantifier is also interpreted in the embedded clause. The sentence is grammatical because the quantifier is not in the matrix clause with verbal negation.

- (59) a. \*men **her kim-ni** [nan-ni yé-me-d-i] dep oyla-y-men  
 1SG every who-ACC [nan-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PAST-1SG  
 Intended: ‘I think that everyone did not eat the nan.’
- b. men [**her kim-ni** nan-ni yé-d-i] dep oyli-ma-y-men  
 1SG [every who-ACC nan-ACC eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
 ‘I don’t think everyone ate the nan.’  
 ‘It is not the case that I think everyone ate nan.’

It would appear that universal quantifiers obligatorily reconstruct into the embedded clause in ECM-like constructions.

- (60) [<sub>CP</sub> men **her kim-ni**<sub>j</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> **t<sub>j</sub>** nan-ni yé-me-d-i dep] oyla-y-men]

That is, accusative case-marked embedded subject universal pronouns are always interpreted as if they are in the embedded clause.

### 1.16 Negative Quantifiers

Next, I will discuss the negative quantifiers. This series is formed by the addition of the prefix *héch-* to *wh-* items and generic ontological nouns. In (61) below, examples (a) and (b) show *héch-* occurring with the *wh-* items, *néme* and *kim* respectively. In (c), however, *héch-* occurs with the generic noun *nerse* ‘thing’.

- (61) a. men **héch-néme**(-ni) yé-mi-d-im  
 1SG no-what(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I didn’t eat anything.’
- b. siz **héch-kim**(-ni) chiqir-mi-d-ingiz  
 2sg no-who(-acc) call-neg-past-2sg  
 ‘You did not call anyone.’
- c. Bu **héch-nerse**(-ni) kör-mi-d-i  
 3SG no-thing(-ACC) see-NEG-PAST-3SG  
 ‘He/She did not see anything.’

However, there is a restriction to what nouns this prefix can occur with. In (62) below for example *héch-* cannot occur with a content noun like *gürüch*, ‘rice’

- (62) \*men **héch-gürüch**-ni yé-mi-d-im  
 1SG **no-rice**-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-1SG  
 Intended: ‘I did not eat any rice.’

In order to communicate the sentiment ‘I did not eat any rice at all,’ the negative quantifier, *héch-qanche* ‘no amount’, is used. This indefinite pronoun is used with mass nouns such as *gürüch* ‘rice’ in (63)a and count nouns such as *alma* ‘apple’ in (63)b.

- (63) a. men *héch-qanche* *gürüch*-ni yé-mi-d-im  
 1SG no-how.much rice-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I did not eat any rice at all.’
- b. men *héch-qanche* *almi*-ni yé-mi-d-im  
 1SG no-how.much apple-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I didn’t eat any apples at all.’

Table 13, below, lists the negative quantifiers in Uyghur.

a)	héch-adem	no-person	‘no one’
b)	héch-kim	no-who	‘no one’
c)	*héch-né	no-where	Intended: ‘nowhere’
d)	héch-né-ge	no-where-DAT	‘to nowhere’
e)	héch-né-de	no-where-LOC	‘at nowhere’
f)	héch-né-din	no-where-ABL	‘from nowhere’
g)	héch-néme	no-what	‘nothing’
h)	*héch-némishqa	no-why	Intended: ‘for no reason’
i)	héch-nerse	no-thing	‘nothing’
j)	héch-qachan	no-when	‘no time’
k)	héch-qanche	no-how much?	‘no amount’
l)	héch-qandaq	no-how	‘no how’
m)	*héch-qaysi	no-which	Intended: ‘no which’
n)	*héch-qeyer	no-where	Intended: ‘nowhere’
o)	héch-qeyer-ge	no-where-DAT	‘to nowhere’
p)	héch-qeyer-de	no-where-LOC	‘at nowhere’
q)	héch-qeyer-din	no-where-ABL	‘from nowhere’
r)	*héch-yer	no-place	Intended: ‘nowhere’
s)	héch-yer-ge	no-place-DAT	‘to nowhere’
t)	héch-yer-de	no-place-LOC	‘at nowhere’
u)	héch-yer-din	no-place-ABL	‘from nowhere’
v)	héch-waqit	no-time	‘no time’

Table 18 – Negative Quantifiers in Uyghur

These negative quantifiers are often translated as the English equivalent of ‘any-X.’ However, unlike constructions like *anyone, anything, etc.* in English; negative quantifiers in Uyghur have a number of interesting features. The first is that negative quantifiers in Uyghur can be used as answers to questions (cf. (64) below). Secondly, when they do occur as answers to questions, they carry negative interpretation. For example, in (64) below, the wh- question equivalent of ‘Who came to your house?’ can be answered with the negative pronoun *héch-kim* ‘no one’. The interpretation of the answer is negative: ‘No one came to the house.’

- (64) Q: Kim öy-ingiz-gha kel-d-i?  
 who house-2SG.POSS-DAT come-PAST-3  
 ‘Who came to your house?’

A: héch-kim  
no-who  
'No one'

The same pattern is ungrammatical in English as in (65).

(65) Q: Who came to your house?

A: \*Anyone.

The negative interpretation of negative quantifiers as seen above could possibly be related to a separate feature of these quantifiers. These quantifiers appear to be negative polarity items.

When the negative quantifiers occur in a verbal construction, they obligatorily occur within the same clause as verbal negation. In (66)a below, the pronoun *héch-néme* 'nothing' occurs in the same clause as negation on the verb *yé-*. Example (66)b shows that when negation is not present on the verb, the sentence containing the pronoun is ungrammatical.

- (66) a. men héch-neme(-ni) yé-**me**-d-im  
1SG no-what(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-1SG  
'I didn't eat anything.'
- b. \*men héch-neme(-ni) yé-d-im  
1SG no-what(-ACC) eat-PAST-1SG  
Intended: 'I didn't eat anything.'

Negative quantifiers appear to be constructed from prefixing to wh- items in Ugyhur. However, unlike wh- items, negative quantifiers do not carry interrogative interpretation. (67)a shows a basic wh- question using *néme*, 'what.' (67)b shows the negative quantifier *héch-néme* 'anyone' in the same position. However, (b) does not carry interrogative interpretation. (c) shows that *héch-néme* 'nothing' can occur with the yes/no question particle *mu*.

- (67) a. u **néme**(-ni) yé-me-d-i  
3sg what(-acc) eat-neg-past-3sg  
'What didn't he/she/they eat?'



- b. u    **héch-néme(-ni)** yé-me-d-i  
 3SG no-what(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3SG  
 ‘He/she didn’t eat anything.’
- c. u    **héch-néme(-ni)** yé-me-d-i-**mu**  
 3sg no-what(-acc) eat-neg-past-3sg-q  
 ‘Is it the case that you did not eat anything?’

Like wh- items (and other DPs) negative quantifiers can be scrambled. Object-negative quantifiers can occur before the subject but accusative case marking is obligatory. Scrambling of object-negative quantifiers to the right of the verb-phrase is not possible. In (68) below, *héch-kim* ‘no one’, has been scrambled to the left of the third-person-singular subject *u*. However, the accusative case marker *-ni* is obligatory in this example. In example (b), *héch-kim* has been scrambled to the right of the verb phrase. (68) is ungrammatical even with the overt accusative case marker, *-ni*.

- (68) a. **héch-kim\*(-ni)** u    kör-me-d-i  
 no-who(-ACC) 3SG see-NEG-PAST-3SG  
 ‘He/She didn’t see anyone.’
- b. \*U    kör-me-d-i            **héch-kim(-ni)**  
 3SG see-NEG-PAST-3SG any-who(-ACC)  
 ‘He/She didn’t see anyone.’

Like the Universal Quantifiers, Negative Quantifiers can occur in both subject and object positions. However, Negative Quantifiers must co-occur with verbal negation. In (69)a, *héch-kim* ‘anyone’ occurs in object position and occurs with negation on the verb *kör-* ‘see’. Similarly in (b), *héch-kim* is in subject position and also occurs with negation on the verb *kör-* ‘see’. (69)c and (69)d show that regardless of subject or object position, a clause-mate negation is mandatory.

- (69) a. u    **héch-kim(-ni)** kör-me-d-i  
 3SG no-who(-ACC) see-NEG-PAST-3SG  
 ‘He/She didn’t see anyone.’

- b. **héch-kim** u(-ni)      kör-**me**-d-i  
no-who 3sg(-acc) see-neg-past-3sg  
'No one saw him/her.'
- c. \*u    **héch-kim**(-ni) kör-d-i  
3SG no-who(-ACC) see-PAST-3SG  
Intended: 'He/She didn't see anyone.'
- d. \***héch-kim** u(-ni)      kör-d-i  
no-who 3SG(-ACC) see-PAST-3SG  
Intended: 'No one saw him/her.'

Negative quantifiers can also occur in embedded clauses. In (70), example (a) shows *héch-néme* in the embedded clause with verbal negation on the embedded verb *yé* 'eat.' When the verbal negation is not on the embedded verb, as in (b), the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

- (70) a. Men [Enwer **héch-néme(-ni)** yé-**mi**-d-i ] dep oyla-y-men  
1SG [Enwer no-what(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PST-1SG  
'I think that Enwer ate nothing.'
- b. \*Men [Enwer **héch-néme(-ni)** yé-d-i ] dep oyli-**ma**-y-men  
1SG [Enwer no-what(-ACC) eat-PAST-3] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
Intended: 'I don't think Enwer ate anything.'<sup>20</sup>

This would suggest then that negative quantifiers must not only occur with verbal negation, they must also be in the same clause as verbal negation. This is unlike English, in which indefinite pronouns like *anyone*, do not have to be in the same clause as negation, as (71) below indicates.

- (71) a. I think [Enwer didn't eat anything].  
b. I don't think [Enwer ate anything].

With negative quantifiers in embedded subject position, we see the same pattern. In (72)a below, the embedded subject, the negative quantifier *héch-kim* 'no one,' occurs with verbal negation on

<sup>20</sup> When negative indefinite pronouns occur in embedded clauses with verbal negation on the embedded verb and on the matrix verb, a double negative interpretation occurs and not one of negative concord, as seen in (1), below.

- (1) Men [Enwer **héch-néme(-ni)** yé-**me**-d-i] dep oyli-**ma**-y-men  
1SG [Enwer **no-what(-ACC)** eat-NEG-PAST-3] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
'I don't think that Enwer ate nothing.'  
Literally: 'I don't think it is the case that Enwer did not eat anything.'  
\*I don't think Enwer ate anything.'

the embedded verb and the result is grammatical. There appears to be no c-command requirement, just clause-matedness. In (72)b, the same embedded subject occurs in the embedded clause without verbal negation on the embedded verb. Instead, the negation occurs on the matrix verb and the result is ungrammatical.

- (72) a. men [**héch-kim** nan-ni yé-**me**-d-i] dep oyla-y-men  
 1SG [no-who nan-ACC eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PAST-1SG  
 ‘I think no one ate the nan.’
- b. \*men [**héch-kim** nan-ni yé-d-i] dep oyli-**ma**-y-men  
 1SG [no-who nan-ACC eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
 Intended: ‘I don’t think anyone ate the nan.’

Turning now to the ECM-like constructions, as in (73) below, we assume the embedded subject is raised out of the embedded clause to the matrix clause. We would, therefore, expect sentences with verbal negation on the embedded clause to be ungrammatical because the negative quantifier is no longer in the same clause as negation. Conversely, we would expect sentences with verbal negation on the matrix verb to be grammatical because the negative quantifier is now in the matrix clause with verbal negation on the matrix verb.

However, the predicted pattern, once again, is not observed.

- (73) a. men **héch-kim-ni** [nan-(ni) yé-**mi**-d-i] dep oyla-y-men  
 1SG no-who-ACC [nan(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PAST-1SG  
 ‘I think that nobody ate the nan.’
- b. ?men **héch-kim-ni** nan-ni yé-d-i dep oyli-**ma**-y-men  
 1SG no-who-ACC [nan-ACC eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
 ‘I don’t think no one ate the nan.’

In (73)a, the embedded subject is marked with accusative case and the embedded verb carries verbal negation. Under the ECM analysis, (73)a is expected to be bad because the raised embedded subject is no longer in the same clause as negation. However, as we see, the sentence is grammatical. This would suggest that the negative quantifier is being interpreted as if it is in

the embedded clause: i.e. another example of reconstruction. If these accusative embedded subjects are interpreted as if they are in the embedded subject position, we would then expect (73)b to be ungrammatical because negation is on the matrix verb and the negative quantifier is interpreted as if it is in the embedded clause. This would account for the markedness of (73)b, the sentence, while grammatical, is awkward, suggesting that the negative quantifier is being interpreted in the embedded clause. This data suggests that negative quantificational pronouns, like universal quantificational pronouns reconstruct into the embedded clause.

(74) [CP men **héch-kim-ni**]<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>j</sub> nan-ni yé-d-i dep] oyli-ma-y-men]

That is, accusative case-marked embedded subject negative indefinites are interpreted as though they are either in embedded clause.

### 1.17 The *bir*-series Quantificational Pronouns

The *bir*-series indefinite pronouns are used much like the English *some*-series (someone, something, somewhere, etc.). Like the negative indefinite pronouns in Uyghur, the *bir*-series existential quantifiers are formed by the addition of a prefix (*bir*) to *wh*- items and generic nouns.<sup>21</sup> In (75), the prefix combines with the generic noun *nerse* ‘thing,’ the *wh*- items *néme* ‘what,’ *kim* ‘who,’ and *qandaq* ‘how.’

(75) a. men-Ø    **bir-nerse**    ali-men  
           1SG-NOM some-thing    buy-1SG  
           ‘I will buy something.’

<sup>21</sup> This prefix, is homophonous with the Uyghur word for the numeral one, *bir*. Haspelmath mentions in passing that some languages behave in this manner i.e. have indefinite pronouns whose indefiniteness markers are based on the numeral one: stating ‘somewhat surprisingly, one’ is sometimes also found as indefiniteness-markers together with interrogative pronouns’ (Haspelmath 1997:83). Contrary to the pattern found cross-linguistically in which the numeral ‘one’ is most often used as the stem, in Uyghur the numeral ‘one’ is used as an indefinite marker and not as an ontological stem.

- b. **men-ø**    **bir-néme**    yé-d-im  
 1SG-NOM   some-what   eat-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I ate something.’
- c. **bir-kim-ø**            kel-d-i  
 some-who-NOM   come-PAST-3SG  
 ‘Someone came.’
- d. **bir-qandaq**    men-ø    kütüpxani-gha kel-d-im  
 some-how    1SG-NOM   library-DAT    come-PAST-1SG  
 ‘Somehow, I came to the library.’

Table 15, below, lists the *bir*-series indefinite pronouns in Uyghur.

a)	<b>bir-adem</b>	some person	‘someone’
b)	<b>bir-kim</b>	some-who	‘someone’
c)	<b>*bir-né</b>	some-where	Intended: ‘somewhere’
d)	<b>bir-né-ge</b>	some-where-DAT	‘to somewhere’
e)	<b>bir-né-de</b>	some-where-LOC	‘at somewhere’
f)	<b>bir-né-din</b>	some-where-ABL	‘from somewhere’
g)	<b>bir-néme</b>	some-what	‘something’
h)	<b>*bir-némishqa</b>	some-why	Intended: ‘for some reason’
i)	<b>bir-nerse</b>	some-thing	‘something’
j)	<b>bir-qachan</b>	some-when	‘sometime’
k)	<b>bir-qanche</b>	some-how much?	‘some amount’
l)	<b>bir-qandaq</b>	some-how	‘somehow’
m)	<b>*bir-qaysi</b>	some-which	Intended: ‘some which’
n)	<b>*bir-qeyer</b>	some-where	Intended: ‘somewhere’
o)	<b>bir-qeyer-ge</b>	some-where-DAT	‘to somewhere’
p)	<b>bir-qeyer-de</b>	some-where-LOC	‘at somewhere’
q)	<b>bir-qeyer-din</b>	some-where-ABL	‘from somewhere’
r)	<b>*bir-yer</b>	some place	Intended: ‘somewhere’
s)	<b>bir-yer-ge</b>	some place-DAT	‘to somewhere’
t)	<b>bir-yer-de</b>	some place-LOC	‘at somewhere’
u)	<b>bir-yer-din</b>	some place-ABL	‘from somewhere’
v)	<b>bir-waqit</b>	some time	‘sometime’

Table 19 – Existential Quantifiers in Uyghur

The *bir*-series Existential quantifiers may occur with or without verbal negation. In (76), below, the existential quantifier occurs without verbal negation (a) and with verbal negation (b). This would suggest that the *bir*-series indefinite pronouns are not polarity-sensitive items.

- (76) a. men- $\emptyset$     bir-nerse(-ni)    al-d-im  
           1SG-NOM one-thing(-ACC) buy-PAST-1SG  
           ‘I bought something.’
- b. men- $\emptyset$     bir-nerse(-ni)    al-mi-d-im.  
           1SG-NOM one-thing(-ACC) buy-NEG-PAST-1SG  
           ‘I did not buy something.’  
           \*‘I did not buy anything.’<sup>22</sup>

The same pattern is observed in embedded clauses when the pronoun occurs in embedded object position. In (77)a, the pronoun *bir-néme* ‘something’ occurs in the embedded clause with verbal negation on the embedded verb. The result is grammatical. In (77)b, the same pronoun occurs in the embedded clause while verbal negation occurs on the matrix verb. Here again, the result is grammatical.

- (77) a. Men [Enwer **bir-néme(-ni)**    yé-mi-d-i        ] dep oyla-y-men  
           1SG [Enwer some-what(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PST-1SG  
           ‘I think that Enwer ate something.’
- b. Men [Enwer **bir-néme(-ni)**    yé-d-i        ] dep oyli-ma-y-men  
           1SG [Enwer some-what(-ACC) eat-PAST-3] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
           ‘I don’t think Enwer ate something.’

The same pattern is observed with embedded clauses when the pronoun occurs in embedded subject position. (78)a and (78)b below, show the pronoun *bir-kim* ‘someone’ in embedded subject position with verbal negation in the embedded clause and matrix clause. In both circumstances, the result is grammatical. (78)c and (78)d show the pronoun *bir-kim* ‘someone’ in the ECM-like constructions we observed with the negative indefinite and universal quantifiers. In both of these examples, the result is grammatical.

<sup>22</sup> As seen from the translation in (76)b *bir*-series quantifier scope under negation.

- (78) a. men [**bir-kim** nan-ni yé-**me**-d-i] dep oyla-y-men  
 1sg [some-who nan-acc eat-neg-past-3sg] c think-non.past-1s  
 ‘I think that someone didn’t eat the nan.’
- b. men [**bir-kim** nan-ni yé-d-i] dep oyli-**ma**-y-men  
 1SG [some-who nan-ACC eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
 ‘I don’t think someone ate the nan.’
- c. men **bir-kim**-ni [nan-(ni) yé-**mi**-d-i] dep oyla-y-men  
 1SG some-who-ACC [nan(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PAST-1SG  
 ‘I think that someone didn’t eat the nan.’
- d. men **bir-kim**-ni [nan-ni yé-d-i ] dep oyli-**ma**-y-men  
 1SG some-who-ACC [nan-ACC eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
 ‘I don’t think someone ate the nan.’

(78) shows that the indefinite *bir*-series pronouns can occur with or without verbal negation in embedded subject position. Unlike the universal and negative indefinite pronouns, *bir*-series pronouns are not polarity-sensitive.

### 1.18 The *birer*-series Quantificational Pronouns

Uyghur has another indefinite pronoun series, the *birer* series. The *birer* series is also used much like the English *some*-series (*someone*, *something*, *somewhere*, etc.). However, unlike the universal, negative indefinite and *bir*-series indefinite pronouns in Uyghur, *birer* may only pattern with generic nouns. The *birer* series is formed when the word *birer* ‘some’ co-occurs with generic nouns. (79)a the *birer* combines with the generic noun *nerse* ‘thing.’ In (79)b, (79)c and (79)d *birer* occurs with the *wh*- items *néme* ‘what,’ *kim* ‘who,’ and *qandaq* ‘how’ respectively. The result is ungrammatical.

- (79) a. men-ø **birer nerse** ali-men  
 1SG-NOM some thing buy-1SG  
 ‘I will buy something.’

- b. \*men-Ø **birer néme** yé-d-im  
 1SG-NOM some what eat-PAST-1SG  
 Intended: ‘I will eat something.’
- c. \***birer kim**-Ø kel-d-i  
 some who-NOM come-PAST-3SG  
 Intended: ‘Someone came.’
- d. \***birer qandaq** men-Ø kütüpxani-gha kel-d-im  
 some how 1SG-NOM library-DAT come-PAST-1SG  
 Intended: ‘Somehow, I came to the library.’

Table 20, below lists the *birer*-series indefinite pronouns in Uyghur.

a)	<b>birer adem</b>	some person	‘someone’
b)	* <b>birer yer</b>	some place	Intended: ‘somewhere’
c)	<b>birer yer-ge</b>	some place-DAT	‘to somewhere’
d)	<b>birer yer-de</b>	some place-LOC	‘at somewhere’
e)	<b>birer yer-din</b>	some place-ABL	‘from somewhere’
f)	<b>birer nerse</b>	some thing	‘something’
g)	<b>birer waqit</b>	some time	‘sometime’
h)	<b>birer seweb</b>	some reason	‘some reason’

Table 20 – *Birer*-series Indefinite Pronouns in Uyghur

Like the *bir*-series, the *birer* indefinite pronouns may occur with or without verbal negation. In (80), below, *birer* occurs with and without verbal negation. Like the *bir*-series, the *birer*-series is not polarity sensitive.

- (80) a. men-Ø **birer nerse**-(ni) al-d-im  
 1SG-NOM some thing-(ACC) buy-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I bought something.’
- b. men-Ø **birer nerse**-(ni) al-**mi**-d-im.  
 1SG-NOM some thing-(ACC) buy-NEG-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I did not buy something.’

The same pattern is observed with embedded clauses when the pronoun occurs in embedded object position. In (81)a, the pronoun *birer nerse* ‘something’ occurs in the embedded clause with verbal negation on the embedded verb. The result is grammatical. In (81)b, the same



pronoun occurs in the embedded clause while verbal negation occurs on the matrix verb. Here again, the result is grammatical.

- (81) a. Men [Enwer **birer nerse(-ni)** yé-**mi**-d-i ] dep oyla-y-men  
 1SG [Enwer some thing(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PST-1SG  
 ‘I think that Enwer ate something.’  
 b. Men [Enwer **birer nerse(-ni)** yé-d-i ] dep oyli-**ma**-y-men  
 1SG [Enwer some thing(-ACC) eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
 ‘I don’t think Enwer ate something.’

The same pattern is observed with embedded clauses when the pronoun occurs in embedded subject position. In (82)a and (82)b below, the pronoun *birer adem* ‘someone’ is in embedded subject position with verbal negation in the embedded clause and matrix clause. In both circumstances, the result is grammatical. In (82)c and (82)d, the pronoun *birer adem* ‘someone’ is in the ECM-like constructions we observed with the negative indefinite and universal quantifiers. In both of these examples, the result is grammatical.

- (82) a. men [**birer adem** nan-ni yé-**me**-d-i] dep oyla-y-men  
 1sg [some person nan-acc eat-neg-past-3sg] c think-non.past-1sg  
 ‘I think someone didn’t eat the nan.’  
 b. men [**birer adem** nan-ni yé-d-i] dep oyli-**ma**-y-men  
 1SG [some person nan-ACC eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
 ‘I don’t think someone ate the nan.’  
 . c. men **birer adem-ni** [nan-(ni) yé-**mi**-d-i] dep oyla-y-men  
 1SG some person-ACC [nan(-ACC) eat-NEG-PAST-3SG] C think-NON.PAST-1SG  
 ‘I think that someone didn’t eat the nan.’  
 d. men **birer adem-ni** [nan-ni yé-d-i] dep oyli-**ma**-y-men  
 1SG some person-ACC [nan-ACC eat-PAST-3SG] C think-NEG-NON.PAST-1SG  
 ‘I don’t think someone ate the nan.’

(82) shows that the *birer*-series indefinite pronouns can occur with or without verbal negation in embedded subject position. Unlike the universal and negative indefinite pronouns, the *birer*-series pronouns are not sensitive to the same kind of negation sensitivities.

## 8. Quantificational Pronouns as Indefinite Pronouns

In addition to differences in syntactic distribution, the four series of Uyghur pronouns discussed in this thesis also differ with respect to their semantic functions. This section explores the semantic differences between the four series of pronouns: the universals, the negative indefinites, the *bir*-series indefinites, and the *birer*-series indefinites. In order to investigate the semantic functions of these four types of pronouns, I will be using methodology outlined in Martin Haspelmath's *Indefinite Pronouns* (1997). This methodology will provide the framework in which I will establish the semantic properties of each of the quantifier pronoun series discussed in this thesis. Specifically, Haspelmath proposes that there are nine functions of indefinite pronouns cross-linguistically. In Uyghur, the four series of pronouns discussed in this theory are used to various extents in these nine functions. Section 7.1 provides an introduction to Haspelmath's methodology and the nine cross-linguistic functions of indefinite pronouns. The sections that follow discuss each of these nine functions in turn. These sections outline the pronouns in Uyghur that correspond to those functions.

### 1.19 Introduction to Haspelmath

This section will provide a general overview of the framework with which we will be examining the four series of pronouns in Uyghur discussed in this thesis. Haspelmath (1997) provides a typological investigation of indefinite pronouns that covers approximately 140 languages.

Haspelmath's motivation for his survey stemmed from the lack of attention given to indefinite pronouns in previous descriptive linguistic accounts. For Haspelmath, these previous approaches

to indefinite pronouns have overgeneralized the semantic and syntactic properties of indefinite pronouns. To resolve this issue, he proposes his own typological approach based on implicational mapping, founded on the notion of *implicational universals* or ‘properties that hold in all languages that have a given feature’ (Haspelmath 1997:8). One might conceptualize the world’s languages on a kind of spectrum. On one end there are properties that are universal across all languages. On the other end of the spectrum are properties of languages that are specific to only one particular language. Languages do not tend to fall on one extreme or the other and instead fall somewhere in-between the two extremes. The use of implicational universals allows for generalizations to be made cross-linguistically.

Haspelmath proposes a set of nine semantic functions that indefinite pronouns serve cross-linguistically: SPECIFIC KNOWN, SPECIFIC UNKNOWN, IRREALIS, QUESTIONS, CONDITIONALS, INDIRECT NEGATION, DIRECT NEGATION, COMPARATIVES, and FREE CHOICE. Haspelmath organizes these functions into the following implicational map.

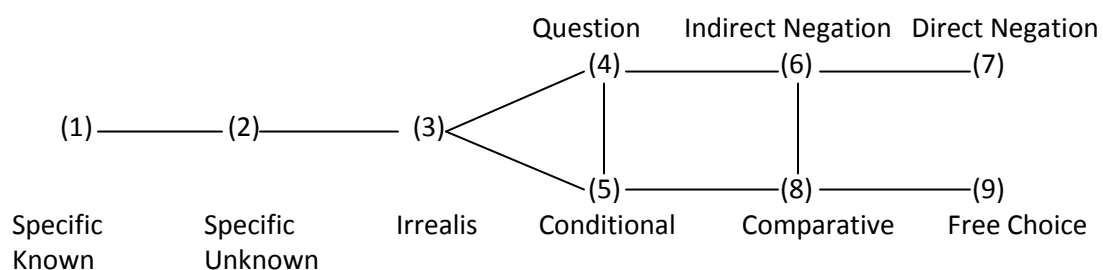


Figure 2 - The Semantic Map

Any indefinite pronoun may serve any of the nine functions. However, the functions of a given indefinite must be adjacent to each other. For instance, an indefinite pronoun, X, may serve the function of both INDIRECT NEGATION and DIRECT NEGATION. However, X may not serve the function of DIRECT NEGATION and, say, SPECIFIC UNKNOWN, to the exclusion of the other

functions in-between. In other words, any given indefinite pronoun may only serve functions that are contiguous to each other on the implicational map.<sup>23</sup>

## 1.20 The Nine Semantic Functions and the Corresponding Uyghur Pronouns

This section examines each of these nine functions in turn. I will discuss them in the numerical order given in the implicational map above. After a brief discussion of each function, I provide examples from Uyghur which will show the pronouns that serve that specific function.<sup>24</sup>

### 1.20.1 Specific Known

The first function on the implicational map is the SPECIFIC KNOWN context. In this context, the speaker is committed to the existence of the referent of the indefinite pronoun and knows the identity of that referent. However, for whatever reason, the speaker withholds that information from the listener. This function is exemplified in (83) below.

(83) Someone came. (Guess who!)

In this context, the speaker knows the identity of the person who came but is withholding that information from the listener. Haspelmath points out that in such contexts, the non-specific pronoun *anyone* is not acceptable, as seen in (84)

(84) \*Anyone came! (Guess who!)

In order for a pronoun to serve the function of SPECIFIC KNOWN context, the speaker must be committed to the existence of the referent of the indefinite pronoun. For this reason, even though

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<sup>23</sup> Haspelmath's motivation for organizing the nine functions into their specific place on the implicational map is based on tendencies of indefinite pronouns cross-linguistically. For more information on the relationships between the various functions, see sections 3 and 4, and section 5.6 of Haspelmath (1997).

<sup>24</sup> As previously stated, this thesis has focused on only four series of pronouns in Uyghur. There are many more series of pronouns in the language which should be investigated and documented. Whenever claims are made about the pronouns that are used in these semantic functions, I will be referring only to the four series outlined in this thesis.

the use of the universal pronoun *everyone* in (85) is grammatical, it does not refer to any specific referent. Therefore, the universal pronoun *everyone* does not serve the function of SPECIFIC KNOWN.

- (85) Everyone came!  
\*Specific known

In Uyghur, only the *bir*-series indefinite pronouns may serve this function.

- (86) Bir-kim kel-d-i  
Some-who come-PAST-3SG  
'Someone (specific) came. (Guess who!).'

(86) may be followed with a with sentence with a bound pronominal subject, as in (87) below.

- (87) a. bir-kim<sub>i</sub> kel-d-i  
'Someone<sub>i</sub> (specific) came!'
- b. u<sub>i</sub> enwer idi  
3SG<sub>i</sub> Enwer COP.PAST  
'He/It<sub>i</sub> was Enwer!'

The fact that the pronoun, *u* 'he/she', in (87)b can have the same referent as the *bir*-series indefinite pronoun, *bir-kim* 'someone', supports the claim that the *bir*-series indefinite pronouns may be used in the SPECIFIC UNKNOWN context.

### 1.20.2 Specific Unknown

The second function on the implication map is the SPECIFIC UNKNOWN. In this context, the speaker is committed to the existence of a specific referent of the indefinite pronoun. However, the speaker is unaware of the identity of the referent. This context is exemplified in (88) below.

- (88) Someone came (But I don't know who).

Here again, the non-specific pronoun *anyone* is unacceptable.

- (89) \*Anyone came. (But I don't know who.)

In Uyghur, the *bir*-series and *birer*-series indefinites may serve this function.

- (90) a. bir-kim kel-d-i  
Some-who come-PAST-3SG  
'Someone came.'
- b. birer adem kel-d-i  
Some man come-PAST-3SG  
'Someone came.'

(90)a and (90)b may be followed with a sentence with a bound pronominal subject, as seen in (91) below.

- (91) a. bir-kim<sub>i</sub>/birer adem<sub>i</sub> kel-d-i  
'Someone<sub>i</sub> (specific) came!'
- b. lekin u<sub>i</sub> bil-me-y-men  
but 3SG<sub>i</sub> know-NEG-PRES-1SG  
'But I don't know who<sub>i</sub>'

The fact that the pronoun, *u* 'he/she', in (91)b can have the same referent as the *bir*-series indefinite pronoun, *bir-kim* 'someone', and the *birer*-series pronoun, *birer adem* 'some person', supports the claim that the *bir*-series indefinite pronouns and the *birer*-series indefinite pronouns may be used in the SPECIFIC UNKNOWN context.

### 1.20.3 Irrealis

In IRREALIS contexts, the event described by a given utterance has not been realized. This context is exemplified in (92) below.

- (92) Russian (Haspelmath 1997:40)
- a. V subbotu oni uedut **kuda-to**  
in Saturday they go whither-INDEF  
'On Saturday they will go somewhere (specific).'  
SPECIFIC
- b. V subbotu oni uedut **kuda-nibud'**  
in Saturday they go whither-INDEF  
'On Saturday they will go somewhere (or other).'  
NON-SPECIFIC

Because the event has not been realized, the speaker is not necessarily committed to the existence of the referent of the pronoun (Haspelmath 1997:40) In the English translations in (92), the English pronoun *somewhere* is used. However, some languages, like Russian, make a distinction between IRREALIS specific and IRREALIS non-specific. This is seen by the use of the specific pronoun *kuda-to* ‘*somewhere*’ in the specific context in (92)a and the use of the non-specific pronoun *kuda-nibud* ‘*somewhere*’ in (92)b.

Uyghur also makes this distinction. For the specific IRREALIS context, the *bir*-series is used as in (93)a. For the non-specific IRREALIS context, the *birer*-series is used as in (93)b.

- (93) a. yekshenbe kuni u-lar bir-yer-ge bar-i-du SPECIFIC  
 Saturday day 3-PL some-place-DAT go-NON.PAST-3SG  
 ‘On Saturday, they will go someplace (specific).’
- b. yekshenbe kuni u-lar birer yer-ge bar-i-du NON-SPECIFIC  
 Saturday day 3-PL some place-DAT go-NON.PAST-3SG  
 ‘On Saturday, they will go someplace (non-specific).’

#### 1.20.4 Questions

According to Haspelmath, questions provide a context in which only non-specific referents of pronouns are possible (1997:42). Because the speaker does not know the answer to the question, they cannot commit themselves to the existence of the pronoun referent. In the Russian example in (94) below, only the non-specific pronoun *kogo-nibud* ‘*someone*’ may be used in questions.

The specific pronoun *kogo-to* ‘*someone*’ may not be used.

- (94) Russian (Haspelmath 1997:43)
- a. Uvideli li vy **kogo-nibud**  
 saw Q you whom-INDEF  
 ‘Did you see anyone?’ NON-SPECIFIC
- b. \*Uvideli li vy **kogo-to**  
 saw Q you whom-INDEF  
 ‘Did you see someone?’ SPECIFIC

For QUESTION contexts in Uyghur, both the *bir*-series pronouns and the *birer*-series pronouns may be used as seen in (95) below.

- (95) a. Siz bir-nerse de-d-ing-mu  
           2.sg some-thing say-past-2.sg-q  
           i. ‘Did you say anything (at all)?’ NON-SPECIFIC  
           ii. ‘Did you say something (specific)?’ SPECIFIC
- b. Sen birer nerse de-d-ing-mu  
           2.sg some thing say-past-2sg-q  
           i. ‘Did you say anything (at all)?’ NON-SPECIFIC  
           ii. \*’Did you say something (specific)?’ SPECIFIC

Both the *bir*-series and *birer*-series of pronouns are used in QUESTION contexts in Uyghur.

Surprisingly, in (95)a, the *bir*-series pronoun *bir-nerse* ‘something’, may function either as a non-specific or a specific meaning. This would suggest that the specific/non-specific distinction that exists between the two series in IRREALIS context also exists in QUESTION contexts. Both the *bir*-series and the *birer*-series of pronouns take on non-specific functions in QUESTION contexts. However, the *bir*-series pronouns may also take on the specific context. This appears to be contrary to Haspelmath’s claim that specific interpretations on indefinite pronouns are unavailable in QUESTION contexts.

### 1.20.5 Conditional

Like questions, CONDITIONALS only allow for non-specific referents of pronouns (Haspelmath 1997:43). Because the condition being set is not realized, the speaker cannot commit themselves to the existence of the referent. In the Kannada example in (96) below, only the non-specific pronoun *yaar-aadaruu* ‘anyone’ may be used in the CONDITIONAL. The specific pronoun *yaa-oo* ‘someone’ may not be used.



- (96) Kannada (Haspelmath 1997:43)
- a. Yaar-aadaruu bandare heelutteene  
 who-INDEF come.COND tell.FUT.1SG  
 ‘I will tell you if anyone [non-specific] comes.’
- b. \*Yaar-oo bandare heeluttene  
 who-INDEF come.COND tell.FUT.1SG  
 ‘I will tell you if anyone [specific] comes.’

For CONDITIONAL contexts in Uyghur, both the *bir*-series pronouns and the *birer*-series pronouns may be used, as seen in (97) below.

- (97) a. eger siz birer nerse-ni angli-singiz, man-g telefon qil-ing  
 if 2SG some thing-ACC hear-2SG.COND 1SG-DAT phone do-2SG.IMP  
 “If you hear anything, call me.”
- b. eger siz bir nerse-ni angli-singiz, man-g telefon qil-ing  
 if 2SG some thing-ACC hear-2SG.COND 1SG-DAT phone do-2SG.IMP  
 “If you hear something (specific), call me.”

Both the *bir*-series and *birer*-series of pronouns are used in CONDITIONAL contexts in Uyghur. In (97)a the *birer*-series pronoun *birer nerse* ‘something’, is used in a non-specific context. In (97)b the *bir*-series pronoun, *bir-nerse* is used in the specific context. The data (97) would suggest that the specific/non-specific distinction that exists between the *bir*-/*birer*-series respectively in IRREALIS and QUESTION contexts in Uyghur, also exists in CONDITIONAL contexts. This appears to be contrary to Haspelmath’s claim that specific interpretations on indefinite pronouns are unavailable in QUESTION and CONDITIONAL contexts.

#### 1.20.6 Direct and Indirect Negation

In DIRECT and INDIRECT NEGATION contexts, sentential negation scopes over the indefinite. Some languages, like English, have indefinite pronouns that always express negation as in (98) below (Haspelmath 1997:31).

- (98) English DIRECT NEGATION  
No one came.

However, there is a sub-classification of negation in which the indefinite pronoun and the negative element are in separate clauses. This usually happens when the indefinite pronoun is the subordinate clause and the negative element is matrix clause as in (99) below.

- (99) English INDIRECT NEGATION  
a. I don't think anyone came.  
b. \*I don't think nobody came.

In English, different indefinite pronouns are used in DIRECT NEGATION (*no one* in (98)) and INDIRECT NEGATION (*anybody* in (99)). However, some languages, like Italian, use the same indefinite pronouns in both contexts as in (100).

- (100) Italian  
a. non é venuto **nessuno** DIRECT NEGATION  
not has come anybody  
'Nobody has come.'  
b. non é necessario che venga **nessuno** INDIRECT NEGATION  
not is necessary that come anybody  
'It is not necessary that anybody come.'

Uyghur patterns like English in that it uses two different series for DIRECT and INDIRECT NEGATION. For DIRECT NEGATION, the negative indefinite series is used. For INDIRECT NEGATION, the *birer*-series is used.

- (101) a. men **héch-néme** oqu-me-d-um. DIRECT NEGATION  
1SG no-what read-NEG-PAST-1SG  
'I did not read anything.'  
b. men **birer adem** kel-d-i dep oyli-may-men INDIRECT NEGATION  
1SG some man come-PAST-3SG C think-NEG-1SG  
'I don't think anyone came.'

In (102), the *héch*-series pronoun, *héch-kim* ‘no one’, is in the embedded clause while verbal negation is on the matrix clause.

- (102) \*men **héch-kim** kel-d-i dep oyli-**may**-men  
 1sg no-who come-past-3sg c think-neg-1sg  
 Intended: ‘I don’t think anyone came.’

The unavailability of the *héch*-series in any context but DIRECT NEGATION could possibly be the consequence of the clause-mate negation requirements of *héch*-series pronouns discussed in 1.16.

### 1.20.7 Comparative and Free-choice Contexts

Indefinite pronouns may also serve as standards of comparison, as in (103)a below or as free-choice pronouns, as in (103)b below.

- (103) English  
 a. He’s smarter than anyone.  
 b. After I got my visa, I could travel anywhere!

For Haspelmath, these two contexts are closely related. Languages, like English, often use the same the pronouns in both contexts. Uyghur patterns like English in this way. For both COMPARATIVE and free-choice contexts, Uyghur uses the universal *her* series as seen (104) below.

- (104) a. u bashqa **her-kim**-din eqqiliq  
 3SG else every-who-ABL smart  
 ‘(S)he’s smarter than anybody else.’  
 b. **Her yer-ge** bar-al-ay-men  
 every place-DAT go-abil-non.past-1sg  
 ‘I could go anywhere.’

With regard to semantic properties, Universal pronouns are not indefinite pronouns. However, Haspelmath points out that ‘some languages use universal quantifiers with meanings ‘all’ and ‘every’ instead of indefinites to translate free-choice relatives [and COMPARATIVES] in other

languages.’ Such is the case with Uyghur. This was the main reason for including the universal quantifiers in this thesis.

## 1.21 Summary

The previous sections have shown the various semantic contexts in which the four Uyghur pronoun series discussed in this thesis may be used as indefinite pronouns. Specifically, this section has examined how the four series of pronouns discussed in this thesis pattern with respect to the nine semantic functions of Haspelmath’s semantic map theory. For Haspelmath, any given pronoun may serve a ‘functional space’ (or subset of the nine semantic functions) on the semantic map. Figure 3 below shows the four series of pronouns and their functional space on the semantic map.

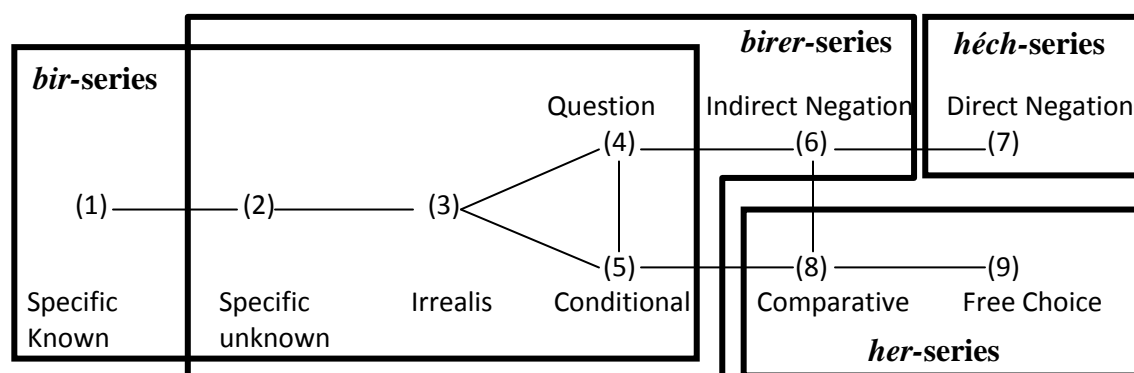


Figure 3 - Semantic Map of Indefinite Pronouns in Uyghur

As previously stated any indefinite pronoun may serve any of the nine functions. However, any given indefinite pronoun may only serve functions that are contiguous to each other on the implicational map. This is in fact, what we see with the four series of pronouns in Uyghur. The universal *her-series* may function in COMPARATIVE and FREE CHOICE contexts. The negative indefinite *héch-series* may function in only the DIRECT NEGATION contexts. The *bir-series*

indefinite pronouns may serve in SPECIFIC KNOWN, SPECIFIC UNKNOWN, IRREALIS, QUESTION, and CONDITIONAL contexts. Finally, the *birer*-series indefinite pronouns may serve in SPECIFIC UNKNOWN, IRREALIS, QUESTION, CONDITIONAL, and INDIRECT NEGATION contexts.

## 9. Conclusions

This thesis examines the syntactic distribution and semantic function of four series of indefinite quantifier pronouns in Uyghur: i) the universal or *her*-series, ii) the negative indefinite or *héch*-series, iii) the indefinite *bir*-series, iv) the indefinite *birer*-series. Sections, 3, 4, and 5, provide brief background information on Uyghur including phonology, orthography, properties of noun phrases, general syntactic properties, and QUESTION formation. Sections 6 and 7 constitute the main focus of this thesis.

In section 7, the syntactic distributions of each of these four series are discussed at length. All four of the series of pronouns may occur in various argument positions and may scramble in the same manner of other DPs in the language. The stems of *her*-series, *héch*-series, and *bir*-series may be composed of either *wh*- items or generic ontological nouns. Even though they may be composed of *wh*- items, the pronouns do not carry interrogative interpretation. The stems of the *birer*-series may only be generic ontological nouns.

With respect to polarity, the universal *her*-series and the negative indefinite *héch*-series are polarity sensitive while the indefinite *bir* series and *birer*-series are not. The universal *her*-series may not occur in the same clause as negation, while the negative indefinite *héch*-series must

obligatorily occur in the same clause as verbal negation. No such restriction exists for the indefinite *bir* series and *birer*-series.

Section 7 uses Haspelmath's (1997) approach to semantic properties of indefinite pronouns to explore the semantic differences between the four series of pronouns as they are used as indefinite pronouns in Uyghur. Haspelmath proposes a set of nine semantic functions that indefinite pronouns serve cross-linguistically: SPECIFIC KNOWN, SPECIFIC UNKNOWN, IRREALIS, QUESTIONS, CONDITIONALS, INDIRECT NEGATION, DIRECT NEGATION, COMPARATIVES, and FREE CHOICE. In Uyghur, the universal *her*-series may function in COMPARATIVE and FREE CHOICE contexts. The negative indefinite *héch*-series may function in only the DIRECT NEGATION contexts. The *bir*-series indefinite pronouns may serve in SPECIFIC KNOWN, SPECIFIC UNKNOWN, IRREALIS, QUESTION, and CONDITIONAL contexts. Finally, the *birer*-series indefinite pronouns may serve in SPECIFIC UNKNOWN, IRREALIS, QUESTION, CONDITIONAL, and INDIRECT NEGATION contexts.

This thesis expands on previous descriptive accounts of Uyghur pronouns and incorporates new data. This thesis provides an in-depth analysis of the semantic meanings of these four series of pronouns in Uyghur using the semantic map theory outlined by Haspelmath (1997). Organizing the data in terms of its semantic meaning serves to further our understanding of Uyghur as a whole. By examining Uyghur indefinite pronouns in this manner, the goal of this thesis is to expand our understanding of Uyghur as a whole, improve our understanding of the semantic properties of indefinites cross-linguistically, and provide ground work for future research.

## 10. References

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## 11. Appendix: *dur*-series Indefinite Pronouns

There is a fifth series of quantifier pronoun I began investigating during the course of my research for this thesis. However, the data proved to have a pattern separate from any of the other four series of pronouns presented in this thesis. This section provides a rough summary of the patterns observed with this series of pronoun.

Like the *bir*-series and the *birer*-series indefinite pronouns, the *dur*-series pronouns are also used much the like the English *some*-series (someone, something, somewhere, etc.). However, unlike other pronouns observed so far, the *dur* series may only occur with *wh*- items. Furthermore, the *dur* is added to the left of *wh*- items, unlike any of the other four series of pronouns in Uyghur.

Table 16, below, lists the *dur*-series quantifiers in Uyghur.

a)	<b>kim dur</b>	who DUR	‘someone’
b)	<b>néme dur</b>	what DUR	‘something’
c)	<b>qachan dur</b>	when DUR	‘sometime’
d)	<b>qanche dur</b>	how much DUR	‘some amount’
e)	<b>qandaq dur</b>	how DUR	‘somehow’
f)	<b>qaysi dur</b>	which DUR	‘somewhich’
g)	<b>qeyer-din dur</b>	where-ABL DUR	from somewhere

Table 16 *dur*-series Quantifiers in Uyghur

This series of pronouns patterns slightly differently with respect to the distribution of other pronouns in Uyghur. When the *dur* pronouns occur by themselves in matrix clauses, they carry obligatory interrogative interpretation. However, unlike regular *wh*- items, they may not occur *in-situ* and instead must occur post-verbally. In (105)a

- (105) a. disertatsia-ni      yaz-ghan              kim dur  
                   dissertation-ACC    write-PAST.INDEF    who    DUR  
                   ‘Who wrote the dissertation?’
- b. \*kim dur    disertatsia-ni      yaz-ghan  
                   who    DUR    dissertation-ACC    write-PAST.indef  
                   ‘Who wrote the dissertation?’



Furthermore, these items may only occur with the indefinite past marker, they may not occur with the definite past tense.

- (106) \*disertatsia-ni yaz-d-i kim-dur  
 dissertation-ACC write-PAST-3rd who-dur  
 Intended: 'Who wrote the dissertation?'

The constructions in (105) and (106) have very similar properties to relative clauses in Uyghur.

- (107) [disertatsia-ni yaz-ghan] adem  
 dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF person  
 'person who wrote the dissertation'

Relative clauses in Uyghur may occur in copula clauses as seen in (108) below.

- (108) a. [distertatsia yaz-ghan] adem emes  
 dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF person COP.NEG  
 'It is not the person who wrote the dissertation.'
- b. [distertatsia yaz-ghan] kimdur idi  
 dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF person COP.PAST  
 'It was the person who wrote the dissertation.'
- c. [distertatsia yaz-ghan] kimdur bar  
 dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF person COP  
 'There is a person who wrote the dissertation.'

However unlike regular relative clauses, the post-verbal *dur* construction cannot occur in copula clauses as seen in (109) below.

- (109) a. [disiertatsia yaz-ghan] kim dur  
 dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF who DUR  
 'Who wrote the dissertation?'
- b. \*[distertatsia yaz-ghan] kim dur emes  
 dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF who DUR COP.NEG  
 Intended: 'It is not the person who wrote the dissertation.'
- c. \*[distertatsia yaz-ghan] kim dur idi  
 dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF who DUR COP.PAST  
 Intended: 'It was the person who wrote the dissertation.'
- d. \*[distertatsia yaz-ghan] kim dur bar  
 dissertation-ACC write-PAST.INDEF who DUR COP  
 Intended: 'There is a person who wrote the dissertation.'

Moreover, the post-verbal construction seen in (109) is also ungrammatical as the subject of matrix clauses.

- (110)    disertatsia-ni      yaz-ghan              kim dur    kel-d-i  
           dissertation-ACC   write-PAST.indef   who   DUR   come-PAST-3<sup>rd</sup>  
           ‘Someone who wrote a dissertation came.’

When combined with other elements, the *dur*-series items can create quantifier interpretation. In order to get quantifier interpretation with the *dur*-series, some other element must be present: usually a member of the *bir*-series quantifiers. Unlike the *bir*-series quantifiers, however, When a speaker uses *dur*-series quantifiers the speaker has no idea as to the identity of the *dur*-series referent.

- (111) a    kim-dur \*(bir-kim) kel-d-i  
           who-dur one-who come-PAST-3<sup>rd</sup>  
           ‘Someone came (but I don’t know who).’  
       b.    u      neme-dur \*(bir-nerse)-ni      alim-gha    ber-d-i  
           3SG   what-dur   one-thing-ACC   alim-DAT   give-PAST-3<sup>rd</sup>  
           ‘He gave something to Alim (but I have no idea what).’

When the *dur*-series items occur in embedded clauses, they must occur with other elements just as in matrix clauses as (112) below shows.

- (112) a.    Enwer    **néme-dur** \*(bir nerse) yé-d-i  
           Enwer    what-dur      one thing   eat-PAST-3<sup>rd</sup>  
           ‘Enwer ate something.’  
           ‘There exists a thing that has the property that Enwer ate it.’  
       b.    siz [Enwer    **neme-dur** \*(bir nerse) yé-d-i]      dep    oyla-y-siz  
           2SG Enwer    what-dur      one thing   eat-PAST-3<sup>rd</sup>    C    think-pres-2SG  
           ‘You think that Enwer ate something.’

These elements may also combine with the plural marker as seen in (113). In these constructions, however, the plural marker is attached to the left of the *dur* suffix. The plural suffix must also be present on the accompanying element.

- (113) a. kim-**ler**-dur    bir-**ler**-i    bu    ish-ni            qil-d-i  
          who-pl-dur    one-pl-3rd    this    thing/job-ACC    do-PAST-3rd  
          ‘Some people did this job.’
- b. \*kim-**ler**-dur    bir-si bu            ish-ni            qil-d-i  
          who-pl-dur    one-3rd    this    thing/job-ACC    do-PAST-3rd  
          ‘Some people did this job.’